

PAPERS
OF THE
AMERICAN
SOCIETY OF CHURCH HISTORY

VOLUME V.

REPORT AND PAPERS OF THE FIFTH ANNUAL MEETING, HELD
IN THE CITY OF WASHINGTON, DEC. 27 AND 28, 1892

EDITED BY

REV. SAMUEL MACAULEY JACKSON, M.A.
SECRETARY

NEW YORK & LONDON
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REPORT AND PAPERS
OF THE FIFTH ANNUAL MEETING
OF THE
AMERICAN SOCIETY OF CHURCH HISTORY

HELD IN WASHINGTON, DEC. 27 AND 28, 1892

THE HISTORY OF THE
UNITED STATES

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NEW YORK

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CONSTITUTION OF THE AMERICAN SOCIETY OF CHURCH HISTORY.

[Adopted at the organization, Friday, March 23, 1888.]

I.

This Society shall be called

THE AMERICAN SOCIETY OF CHURCH HISTORY.

II.

Its object shall be the promotion of studies in the department of Church History.

III.

The officers shall be a President, four Vice-Presidents, a Secretary, and a Treasurer.

These officers and four other members shall constitute the Council, of which five shall be the quorum.

IV.

The duties of the persons just named shall be respectively as follows:

The President, or in his absence a Vice-President, shall preside at all the meetings of the Society. In the absence of these officers, the Society may choose a temporary president from the members present.

viii *Constitution of the American Society of Church History.*

The Secretary shall notify the members at least two weeks in advance of each meeting, keep the minutes, and conduct the correspondence of the Society under the direction of the Council.

The Treasurer shall send bills regularly to all annual members, take charge of the funds of the Society, and invest and disburse them under the direction of the Council.

The Council shall be charged with the general interests of the Society, including the election of members, the calling of meetings, the selection of papers, and the determination of what papers shall be published, and the auditing of the Treasurer's accounts.

V.

The Council and all the other officers shall be elected at the annual meeting. But the Council may fill vacancies until the next annual meeting.

VI.

Any person approved by the Council may become a member of the Society upon the payment of an initiation fee of \$5.00, and continue a member by paying after the first year an annual fee of \$3.00. On payment of fifty dollars at any one time any member may become a life-member exempt from fees.

VII.

One copy of each of the publications of the Society, issued after their election, shall be sent to all honorary and life-members, to all annual members not in arrears for more than two years, and to all libraries subscribing \$3.00 annually.

VIII.

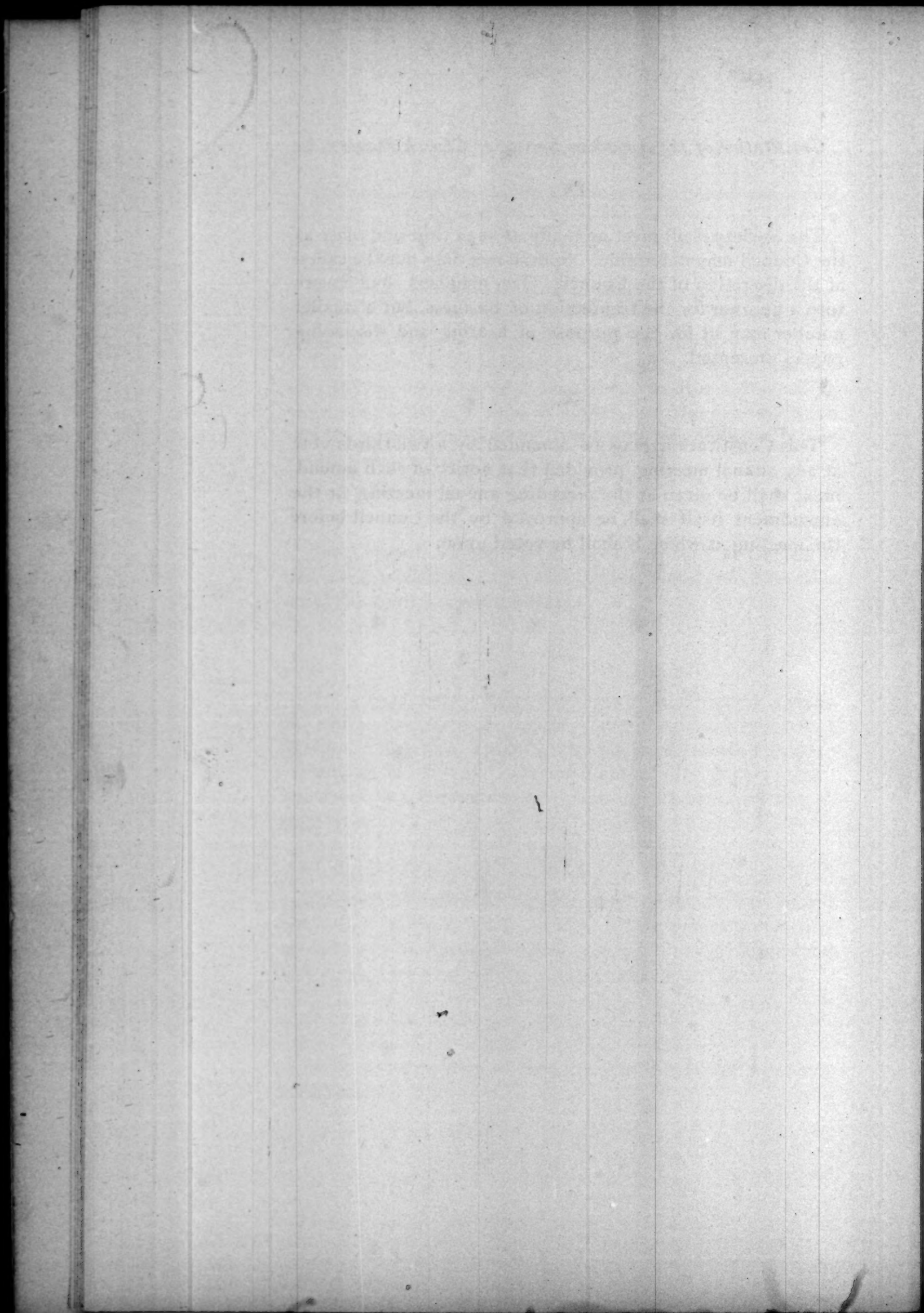
Persons not residing in America may be elected honorary members.

IX.

The Society shall meet annually at such time and place as the Council may determine. Special meetings may be called at the discretion of the Council. Ten members shall constitute a quorum for the transaction of business, but a smaller number may sit for the purpose of hearing and discussing papers presented.

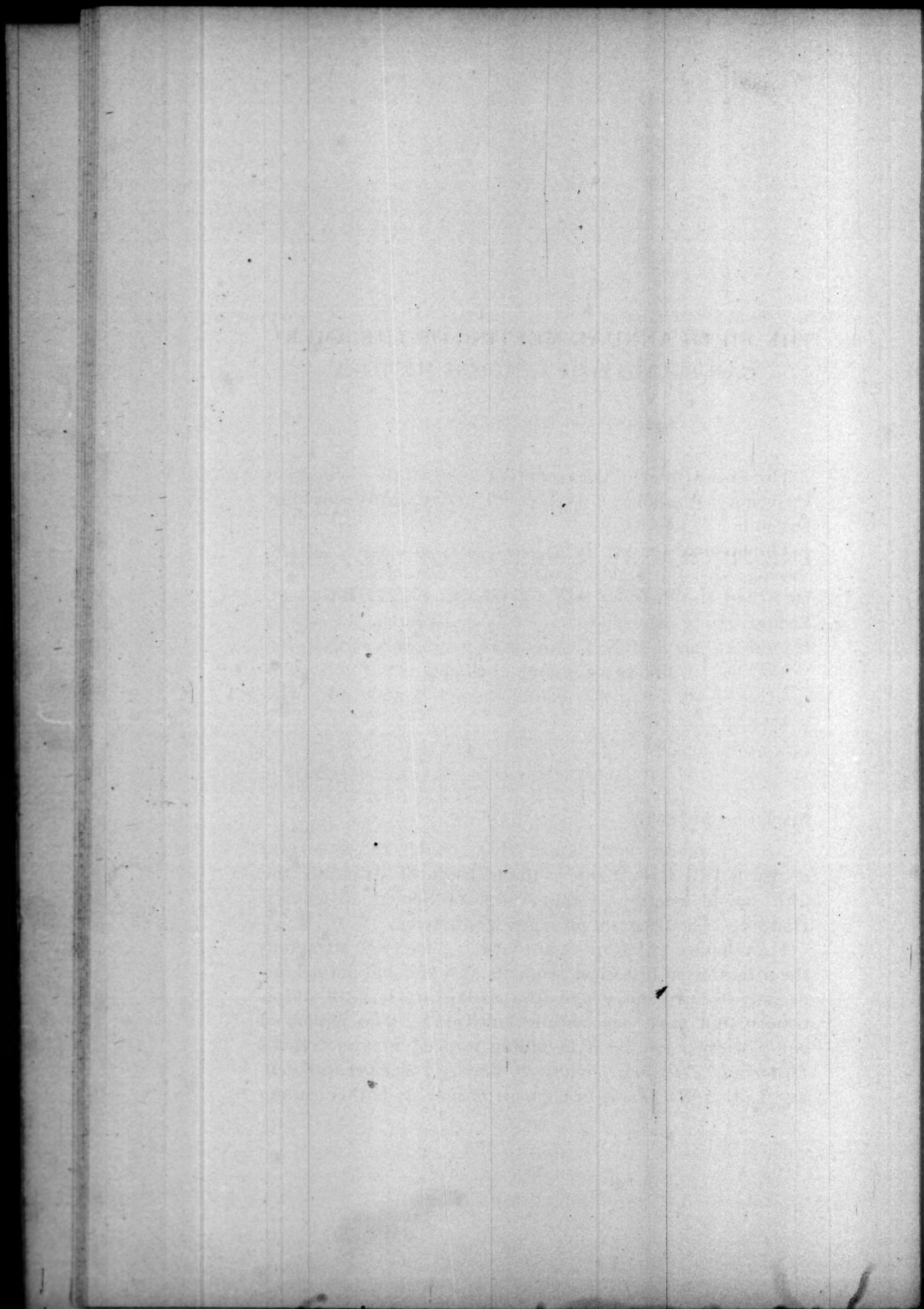
X.

This Constitution may be amended by a two-thirds vote at any annual meeting, provided that notice of such amendment shall be given at the preceding annual meeting, or the amendment itself shall be approved by the Council before the meeting at which it shall be voted upon.



THE FIFTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE AMERI-
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REPORT OF THE SECRETARY



THE FIFTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE AMERICAN SOCIETY OF CHURCH HISTORY.

REPORT OF THE SECRETARY.

The Society met in the reception rooms of the Columbian University, Washington, D. C., on Tuesday and Wednesday, December 27 and 28, 1892.

The first session was held on Tuesday at 8 P.M. In the absence, through feeble health, of the President, the Rev. Dr. Schaff, the chair was taken by the second Vice-President, Bishop Hurst, who called upon the Rev. Dr. Teunis S. Hamlin to pray. The Chairman then announced that Dr. Schaff was unable to be present but had sent the Society a letter which he would ask the Secretary to read. The letter was as follows :

NO 15 EAST 43d STREET,
N. Y., Dec. 27, 1892.

MY DEAR FRIENDS :

I regret very much that, owing to the state of my health, I must forego the pleasure of attending the fifth annual meeting of the American Society of Church History. The program promises a rich treat.

I am happy to inform you that our Society is attracting the attention of historical students at home and abroad, especially in Germany, where Church History is most industriously and most successfully cultivated. The papers of our Society have been favorably noticed in von Sybel's *Historische Zeitschrift*, Schürer's *Theologische Literatur-Zeitung*, Luthardt's *Theologische Literaturblatt*, and other leading

periodicals. Professor Nippold of Jena, the successor of Hase, in his recent *Amerikanische Kirchengeschichte* (1892), draws largely from our papers and from the *Encyclopædia of Living Divines*, published by the President and Secretary of this Society.

The prospectus of our projected American Church History excites the high expectations of scholars who desire a trustworthy and impartial account of the religious life of our nation.

The best way to liberalize the mind and to destroy prejudice and bigotry, is to travel in foreign lands and to come in personal contact with Christians of all denominations. The study of Church History in all its branches has the same effect, and is one of the most effectual means for promoting Christian union. This was the conviction which I expressed forty-six years ago in my tract: *What is Church History? A Vindication of the Idea of Historical Development*. (1846.) Farther study and experience have confirmed this conviction. Let us then cheerfully and hopefully cultivate this noble branch of study, "with malice to none, with charity for all."

Wishing you all many happy years of health and usefulness,

I am yours truly,

PHILIP SCHAFF.

The Secretary then read his annual report, which was as follows:

The Secretary in making his report for the fifth year of the Society's existence takes great pleasure in recording its spread, increased influence, and recognition at home and abroad. Since last we met thirty annual and one life member have been enrolled. Our present number is six honorary members and 158 active members. Three have resigned and three have died. The high stand taken already by the Society is shown by the laudatory notices in the domestic and foreign religious journals. Particular pains were taken this year to circulate the volume. But what is especially

noteworthy is the use made of our volumes by the distinguished Professor F. Nippold, the successor of Hase at Jena, in his latest volume of modern Church history which relates to America. It is also in proof of our position among learned societies that when one of our honorary members, the Rev. Prof. Dr. A. F. Mitchell, received the degree of Doctor of Laws from the University of Glasgow last summer, the Dean of the Faculty in bestowing it mentioned his (Prof. Mitchell's) connection with the American Society of Church History.

The Secretary has received for the Society, during the year, from Prof. Mitchell, of St. Andrews, a copy of his edition of *The Records of the Commissions of the General Assemblies of the Church of Scotland holden in Edinburgh in the Years 1646-1647*, which was published last summer; and from Baron Schickler, his latest book, *Les églises du refuge en Angleterre*, in 3 vols.

The members have already received the circular announcing the series of American Church histories. It is proper to say that there are other denominations, notably the Disciples, which are arranged for but not noticed in the circular, which although seen by the members of the editorial committee through the courtesy of the publisher prior to publication is not intended to be official, and has not been the subject of any joint consultation of the committee.

The Secretary would now pay his tribute to the members who have died during the year.

On April 11th, at Christiania, Norway, died Professor CARL PAUL CASPARI, D.D., who had put the world of ecclesiastical scholars under heavy obligations on account of his researches. He was of Jewish descent, and did not enter the Christian Church till he was twenty-four, when he was baptized in Berlin. He allied himself with the Lutherans. His birthplace was at Dessau, where he was born February 8, 1814, and his studies had been carried on in Berlin and Leipzig; but his professional life was spent in Norway, whither he went as professor of theology in the University of Christiania in 1847. His proficiency in the

Norwegian language is evinced by numerous publications, and his editorship, since 1857, of the "Theologisk Tidsskrift for den evangelisk-lutherske Kirke i Norge." His books in German, however, are the only ones known among us. They show great versatility. In early life he made his mark as an Arabic scholar, and his Arabic grammar in the translation of Prof. Wm. Wright holds its place as one of the best, if not the best, we have. He also commented on Old-Testament books. But for the last twenty-five years he has devoted himself to the minutiae of Church history. He has made numerous discoveries of forgotten documents, not of much value, perhaps, individually, but still interesting and important contributions to the sum of human knowledge. Of special note are his researches in the history of the Apostles' Creed. It goes without saying that it was his marvellous acquaintance with the sources of early Church history, and also his infinite patience and perseverance, which qualified him for the long search in libraries among musty tomes and dust-covered MSS. He got his reward if he found materials for correcting a hoary error, or for establishing more firmly a familiar fact. All honor to such men! They are the advance guard of scholarship.

The complete list of Caspari's publications, exclusive of those in Norwegian, is as follows: *Borhân-eddîni es Sernudji enchiridion studiosi* (Arabic text, Latin version, notes, etc.), Leipzig, 1838; commentary on Obadiah (in Delitzsch and Caspari's *Exegetisches Handbuch zu den Propheten des alten Bundes*), 1842; *Grammatica arabica*, 1844-48, 2 parts, 4th ed., by August Müller, under title *Arabische Grammatik*, Halle, 1876, 5th ed. by same, 1887 (Eng. trans. and ed. by Wm. Wright, London, 1862, 2d ed., 1875-76, 2 vols.; French trans. from 4th ed., by E. Uricoechea, Brussels, 1879-80, 2 vols.); *Beiträge zur Einleitung in das Buch Jesaia und zur Geschichte der jesainischen Zeit*, Berlin, 1848 (vol. ii. of Delitzsch and Caspari's *Biblisch-theologische und apologetisch-kritische Studien*); *Ueber den syrisch-ephraimitischen Krieg unter Fotham und Ahas*, Christiania, 1849; *Ueber Micha den Morasthiten und seine prophetische Schrift*, 1851-52, 2

parts; *Ungedruckte, unbeachtete, und wenig beachtete Quellen zur Geschichte der Taufsymbols und der Glaubensregel*, 1866, 1869, 1875, 3 vols.; *Zur Einführung in das Buch Daniel*, Leipzig, 1869; *Alte und neue Quellen zur Geschichte der Taufsymbols und der Glaubensregel*, 1879; *Martin von Bracara's Schrift "De correctione rusticorum," zum ersten Male vollständig und in verbessertem Text herausgegeben*, 1883; *Kirchen-historische Anecdota, nebst neuen Ausgaben patristischer und kirchlich-mittelalterlicher Schriften*, 1883; *Eine pseudoaugustinische Homilia, "De Sacrilegiis,"* 1886; *Bischof Fastidius' pelagianische Briefe*, 1886. His publications in Norwegian were equally numerous and cover as wide a field. The confidence his adopted countrymen showed in him is evidenced by his participation in a new Norwegian translation of the Old Testament, which appeared in 1887.

On May 16th the Rev. FREDERIC HUIDEKOPER died in Meadville, Pa. He was one of the original life-members of the Society. He was born at Meadville, on April 7, 1817. With his father, in 1844, he founded the Unitarian Theological School there, and in it taught New Testament exegesis from 1844 to 1849, and Church history from 1845 to 1877. He was the author of *Belief of the First Three Centuries Concerning Christ's Mission to the Underworld*, Boston, 1854, 5th ed., New York, 1883; *Judaism at Rome, B.C. 76-A.D. 140*, New York, 1876, 6th ed., 1885; *Indirect Testimony of History to the Genuineness of the Gospels*, 1878, 4th ed., 1883. These books display great assiduity and classical knowledge. They abound in quotations from Greek and Latin, all carefully translated and located. A pathetic interest attaches to them from the fact that their author was partially blind almost all his life, and for the last ten years wholly so in one eye and nearly so in the other. His failing sight compelled him to leave Harvard the year after entering it (1834), and for years he could devote only ten minutes a day to study! He inherited large means, of which he made public-spirited use, so that his native town was the gainer in many ways.

The third death to be recorded is that of the Rev. Prof. Dr. WILLIAM JULIUS MANN. He was born at Stuttgart, Germany, on May 29, 1819, and died in Boston, on his way to his summer retreat at Pigeon Cove, June 20, 1892. He was the best trained scholar in the Lutheran Church of this country, and highly honored and beloved. His career was noteworthy.¹ In 1837 he matriculated at the University of Tübingen, where he took the usual four years' course in philosophy and theology. He found in the teachings of Christian Friedrich Schmid a strong antidote to the influence of Baur, and came out of the university a full-hearted believer. One of his brilliant aphorisms of this period deserves quotation: "Regeneration might be represented as placing a bright, shining centre in the midst of the darkness of the sinful heart; sanctification as the growth of that light centre, which gradually develops into a sun. The more it grows, the less it suffers the darkness of the former condition to surround it." Like other German candidates of theology, he began his practical life-work with teaching the young, and at the same time gratified his strong literary bent in prose and poetry. In 1844 he became assistant pastor at Neuhausen, and gained general respect and confidence by his refined manners, truly Christian sermons and catechisations, and by his edifying visits to the sick. In 1845 he came to America on invitation of his life-long friend, Dr. Schaff. It was then expected that a professorship of German literature and history would be established in the college at Mercersburg and that he would fill it, but the plan was not carried out. In 1846 he was ordained in the German Reformed Church in Philadelphia, and remained in this denomination till 1850, when he was called to the Lutheran Church in which he felt more at home. Until 1854 he was assistant, and from then until

¹ The facts and much of the phraseology of this brief sketch the Secretary has taken, with permission, from the interesting and discriminating *Memorial* of Dr. Mann, by Rev. Prof. Dr. A. Spaeth (Phila., 1893).

1884 pastor, since pastor-emeritus, of Zion's Church, Philadelphia. He took a leading part in the formation of the General Council (1866), being naturally very conservative, although his aversion to ecclesiastical politics held him aloof from much active participation in its subsequent career. When the Ministerium of Pennsylvania established its theological seminary (1864) in Philadelphia, he was one of its original three full professors, and taught Hebrew, ethic, symbolic, homiletic, and New Testament exegesis. He did not however let his seminary duties interrupt his pastoral and preaching services. Nor did he at any time cease from literary labor. He aided Dr. Schaff as a frequent contributor to his theological monthly the *Deutscher Kirchenfreund* published at Mercersburg from 1848 to 1854, and from 1854 to 1859 continued it in Philadelphia. He also wrote much since for the press, but of more permanent value are his books, *Lutheranism in America*, Philadelphia, 1857; *General Principles of Christian Ethics: the First Part of the System of Christian Ethics by Ch. F. Schmid, D.D.*, 1872; *Heilsbotschaft* (Sermons), 1881; *Leben und Wirken William Penns*, Reading, Pa., 1882; *Ein Aufgang im Abendland* (Evangelical Missions in America), 1883; *Das Buch der Buecher und seine Geschichte*, 1884; *Hallesche Nachrichten*, Allentown, Pa., vol i., 1885 (a very laborious and meritorious service); *Life and Times of Henry Melchior Muhlenberg*, Philadelphia, 1887; *Heinrich Melchior Muhlenberg*, Roxborough, Pa., 1891.

In 1856 he received the honorary degree of Doctor of Divinity from Pennsylvania College, Gettysburg, Pa.; and in 1887 the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws from Muhlenberg College, Allentown, Pa.

In conclusion the Secretary mentions as a gratifying fact that the bibliography in the general department of Church history, which is a work of no small labor, has been favorably commented on in all notices of this Society's papers.

In his capacity of Treasurer, the Secretary makes the following report:

1891.			
Dec. 29.	Balance on hand.....	\$	6.16
1892.			
Dec. 27.	Received for dues and sale of transactions.....		597.30
1892.			
Jan. 1.	Paid Secretary's salary for 1891 on account.....		13.00
March 10.	" The Knickerbocker Press.....		24.40
May 3.	" Secretary's salary for 1891 on account.....		12.00
June 2.	" F. W. Christern for binding.....		12.00
July 27.	" The Knickerbocker Press.....		26.11
Sept. 20.	" G. P. Putnam's Sons on account.....		338.00
Nov. 22.	" The Knickerbocker Press.....		36.85
Dec. 9.	" " " ".....		6.90
" "	" G. P. Putnam's Sons on account.....		100.88
			<hr/>
		\$	570.14
	Owe on Messrs. Putnam's bill.....	\$	146.00
	" " Secretary's salary for 1892.....		25.00
			<hr/>
		\$	171.00
	Unexpended balance.....	\$	33.32
	Net debt.....		137.68

After the Secretary had read his report the reading of papers was begun. The Rev. Dr. T. W. Chambers read his paper upon "Holland and Religious Freedom"; the Secretary read in his absence Mr. Henry Charles Lea's paper upon "The Absolution Formula of the Knights Templar," and it was briefly discussed by Rev. Dr. Chambers; the session closed by Rev. Dr. Scott reading his paper upon "The Italian Renaissance of To-Day," which was discussed by Mr. Commissioner Morgan.

Preceding the second regular session which was held on Wednesday, December 28th, at 10 A.M., there was a private business meeting of the members at 9.30 A.M. The finances of the Society were discussed and an addition of \$1.00 to each annual member's dues for next year was ordered. The Secretary was requested to communicate with Mr. G. Brown Good, of the Smithsonian Institution, relative to depositing in

that place the books and pamphlets which from time to time came to the Society.

On nomination the following persons were elected.

Honorary members: Prof. Carl Weizsäcker, D.D., of Tübingen, and Prof. Friedrich Nippold, D.D., of Jena.

Active members (those who have since accepted membership are starred): E. D. Burton, Chicago; *E. H. Byington, Newton, Mass.; Douglass Campbell, Rochester, N. Y.; *J. L. Ewell, Washington, D. C.; F. Goodspeed, Chicago; W. R. Harper, Chicago; C. R. Henderson, Chicago; *E. T. Horn, Charleston, S. C.; *E. B. Hulbert, Chicago; *Sheldon Jackson, Washington; Franklin Johnson, Chicago; C. F. Kent, Chicago; *G. W. Lasher, Cincinnati; *Shailer Matthews, Waterville, Me.; W. DeL. Love, Hartford, Conn.; P. A. Nordell, Chicago; G. W. Northrup, Chicago; J. M. Price, Chicago; *J. F. Riggs, New Brunswick, N. J.; E. G. Robinson, Chicago; E. E. Rogers, Zanesville, O.; J. W. Simpson, Marietta, O.; A. W. Small, Chicago; *C. W. Votaw, Chicago; *G. F. Williams, Washington.

Rev. Drs. Scott and Norcross and the Secretary were appointed a committee to nominate officers for the ensuing year and to select the next place of meeting.

The hour set, 10 A.M., for the reading of papers having arrived, Rev. Dr. Schaff's paper on "Thomas Becket" was read in his absence by Rev. Dr. Scott. As the authors of the next two papers were absent the Secretary read extracts from their papers, viz.: Rev. Dr. McGiffert's paper on "The Rise of the Old Catholic Church" (*i. e.* the Church of the third and following centuries), which was discussed by Rev. Dr. Chambers, Archdeacon Williams, Rev. Dr. Norcross, Rev. Profs. Drs. Wolf and Mitchell; and Mr. Vedder's paper on "The History of the Doctrine of Apostolic Succession in the Church of England." The closing session was held at 3 P.M. The following papers were read by their authors: "The Religious Aspects of the Last Census," by Rev. H. K. Carroll, L.L.D.; "Contributions of the Mathers to the Religious Development of New England," by Rev. Prof. W.

Walker, Ph. D.; and "The Cambridge Platonists," by Mr. J. Winthrop Platner.

Bishop Hurst as the auditing committee of the Council reported that he had found the Treasurer's accounts correct. Rev. Dr. Scott, as chairman of the special committee, recommended that the next place of meeting be New York City, and that the officers for the ensuing year be as follows: President, Rev. Dr. Schaff; Vice-Presidents—Rev. Drs. H. M. Baird, J. F. Hurst, G. P. Fisher, and R. S. Storrs; Secretary, Rev. Samuel Macauley Jackson; Treasurer, Mr. Barr Ferree; Councillors—Revs. Drs. T. W. Chambers, G. R. Crooks, H. M. MacCracken, and Rev. H. C. Vedder.

The report was accepted and adopted, and the above-named persons were declared to be the officers for the ensuing year.

The following minute was then presented and read by the Secretary and adopted unanimously by a rising vote:

"In view of the fact that the Rev. Dr. Schaff, our honored President, celebrates this month the fiftieth anniversary of his career as a teacher of Theology, it is fitting that we, as a Society, should take notice of so interesting an event. In thus doing we shall not be by any means the first to pay him honor on this occasion. Already has he received congratulatory addresses from the German Reformed Church, assembled in Eastern Synod at Lancaster, Pa.; from the Union Theological Seminary, in New York City, in which he has labored for twenty-three years; from Yale University, and from the University of Berlin. The last is particularly noteworthy inasmuch as he began his career as a teacher in that University, and so the address reviews his professorial and literary life. The University of the City of New York bestowed upon him, in the current month, the honorary degree of Doctor of Divinity.

"We cannot add to his honors nor extend his usefulness. But we can, as his friends, and as interested in those historical studies by which he has won such fame, testify our appreciation of his services. We have each of us felt his influence upon our intellectual life. We are indebted

to him for much that we know of Church History. As a Society we owe him our very existence, and the program of each meeting has been largely of his suggestion. We thank him for his indefatigable efforts on our behalf. We regret that he is not with us to receive in person our congratulations upon the completion of half a century as a teacher of Theology, and pray God to restore him to health, so that he may continue those labors which have made his name a household word in more Christian homes than that of any other living divine."

The session closed with prayer by Rev. Dr. Norcross. The following members were in attendance during the session: H. K. Carroll, T. W. Chambers, Barr Ferree, T. S. Hamlin, H. W. Hulbert, J. F. Hurst, S. M. Jackson, W. L. Miller, E. K. Mitchell, George Norcross, F. D. Power, G. R. W. Scott, C. A. Stakely, W. Walker, E. J. Wolf.

SAMUEL MACAULEY JACKSON,
Secretary.

LETTER OF ACCEPTANCE.

Letter of acceptance from the newly elected honorary member, Prof. Carl Weizsäcker, D.D., Chancellor of the University of Tübingen, addressed to Rev. Dr. Schaff:

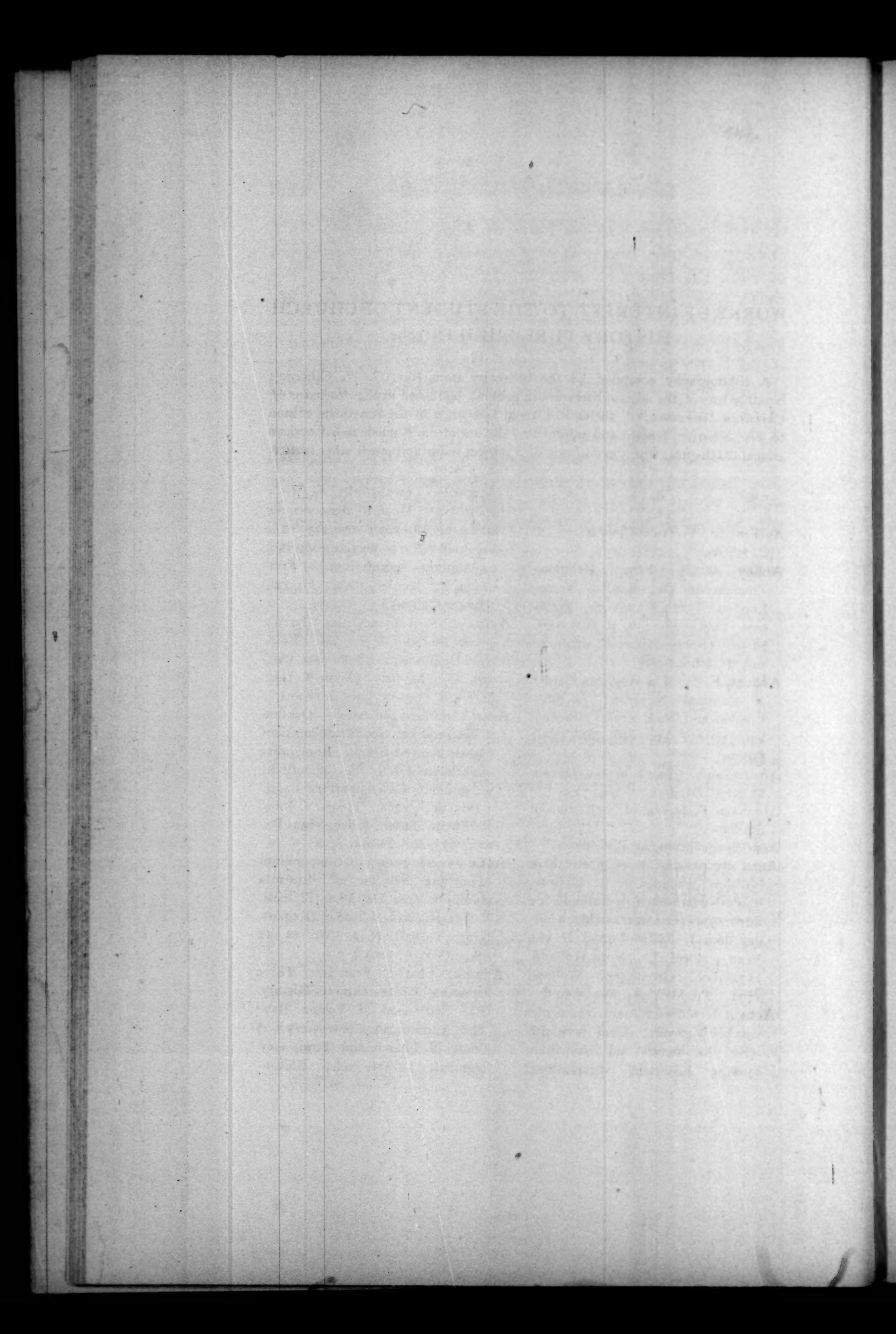
TÜBINGEN, 16. Januar, 1893.

Verehrter Freund:

Ich habe Ihren Brief vom 2. Januar empfangen, in welchem Sie mir mittheilen dass die Americanische Gesellschaft für Kirchengeschichte mich in ihrer Jahresversammlung, 27. December, 1892, zum Ehrenmitglied erwählt hat. Ich schätze die mir damit widerfahrene Ehre hoch, und bezeuge Ihnen und durch Sie der Gesellschaft meinen aufrichtigen Dank. * * *

In treuer Ergebenheit,

Ihr
C. WEIZSÄCKER.



WORKS OF INTEREST TO THE STUDENT OF CHURCH HISTORY PUBLISHED IN 1892.

A Bibliography compiled by the Secretary from Rev. G. W. Gilmore's monthly lists of theological literature in general, published in the *Magazine of Christian Literature*, till the end of 1892, and since in the American edition of *The Thinker*, revised and enlarged by the use of the English and American annual catalogues, with the addition of a subject index and much other matter.

A

- Aachen, St. Foilan's Church in, *see* C. Rhen.
- Abbey, C. J.**, Rev. Religious Thought in Old English Verse. London: Low; New York: Scribners, 1892. Pp. 456, p. 8vo, 10/6, \$2.50. (Ranges from Cædmon to end of 18th century).
- Abbott, E. A.** The Anglican Career of Cardinal Newman. 2 vols. London and New York: Macmillan, 1892. Pp. 910, 8vo, 25/, \$10.00.
- Abou Gosch, Church of St. Jerome at, *see* C. Mauss.
- Abraham, Testament of, *see* Texts and Studies.
- Acta Apostolorum, *see* P. Corssen.
- Acta** der provinciale en particuliere synoden gehouden in de Noorderlijke Nederlanden gedurende de jaren 1572-1620, verzameld en nit-geg door J. Reitsma en S. D. van Veen. Deel I.: Nord-Holland, 1572-1608. Groningen: Wolters, 1892. Pp. xix., 484, 8vo, 5.50 fl.
- Acta et decreta sacrosancti oecumenici concilii Vaticani.** Cum permultis aliis documentis ad concilium ejusque historiam spectantibus. Auctoribus presbyteriis S. J. e domo B. V. M. sine labe conceptæ ad Lacum. (Sonder-Ausgabe des 7. Bds. der Acta et decreta sacrorum conciliorum recentiorum.) Freiburg i. B.: Herder, 1892. Pp. xx., 1942, 4to, 26 mk.
- Acta** martyrum et sanctorum. Syriace edidit Bedjan. Tom. III. Leipzig: Harassowitz, 1892. Pp. viii., 688, 8vo, 24 mk. (Tomi I.-III., 68 mk.) (1st vol. pub. in 1890.)
- Acta** pontificum helvetica. Quellen schweizerischer Geschichte aus dem päpstlichen Archiv in Rom, veröffentlicht durch die historisch. u. antiquar. Gesellschaft zu Basel. 1 Bd., 1198-1268. Hrsgs. v. Johs. Bernoulli. Basel: Reich, 1892. Pp. xvi., 533, 4to, 28 mk.
- Acta** Sanctæ Sedis, in compendium opportune redacta et illustrata studio et cura Dr. Vict. Piazzesi. Vol. xxiv., xxv. Rome (Regensburg: Pustet), 1892. 8vo, ea. 12 mk. (Vol. i., 1865.)
- Adams, Charles Francis.** Three Episodes of Massachusetts History. The Settlement of Boston Bay; The Antinomian Controversy; A Study of Church and Town Government. In two vols. Boston:

xxvi *Works of Interest to the Student of Church History.*

- Houghton, 1892. Pp. vi., 532; iv., 533-1067, 8vo, \$4.00.
- Agén, Church of, origins, *see* J. Cayla.
- African Church, external development, *see* A. Schwarze.
- African peoples, religion of, *see* W. Schneider.
- Ainu of Japan, *see* J. Batchelor.
- Albert, F. R., Dr.** Die Geschichte der Predigt in Deutschland bis Luther. 1. Theil: 1. Die Geschichte der Predigt in Deutschland bis auf Karl den Grossen, 600-814. Lateinische Predigten von Verfassern fremländ. Herkunft. Gütersloh: Bertelsmann, 1892. Pp. 176, 8vo, 2.80 mk.
- Albert, P., Dr.** Matthias Döring, ein deutscher Minorit des 15. Jahrhunderts. Stuttgart: Ochs, 1892. Pp. viii., 194, 8vo, 2.50 mk.
- Albertus Magnus.** Paradies der Seele. Ins Deutsche übertragen. Dülmen: A. Laumann, 1892. Pp. xv., 474, 16mo, 1 mk.
- Albi, martyrs and saints of, *see* H. Salabert.
- Albigenses, *see* V. Canet; A. Vidal.
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ST. THOMAS OF CANTERBURY

ST. THOMAS OF CANTERBURY.

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LITERATURE.

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I.—SOURCES.

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This collection is much more accurate, complete, and better arranged (especially in the Epistles) than the older collection of Dr. Giles (*Sanctus Thomas Cantuariensis*, London, 1845-46, 8 vols., reprinted in Migne's *Patrol.*, tom. 190-199), and the *Quadrilogus*

or *Historia Quadripartita* (Lives by four contemporary writers, composed by order of Pope Gregory XI., first published, 1495, then by L. Christian Lupus or Wolf, at Brussels in 1682, and at Venice, 1728).

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***James Anthony Froude**: Life and Times of Thomas Becket. First published in *The Nineteenth Century* for 1877, then in book form, London and New York, 1878 (pp. 150). Against the Roman and Anglo-Catholic overestimate of St. Thomas.

This book is written in brilliant style, but takes a very unfavorable view of Becket (opposite to that of his elder brother, R. H. Froude), and led to a somewhat personal controversy with Professor Freeman, who charged Froude with habitual inaccuracy, unfairness, and hostility to the English Church, in *The Contemporary Review* for 1878 (March, April, June, and September numbers). Froude defended himself in *The Nineteenth Century* for April, 1879, pp. 618-637, to which Freeman replied in "Last Words on Mr. Froude," in *The Contemporary Review* for May, 1879, pp. 214-236.

III.—Becket is more or less fully treated in general Church Histories (*e. g.*, Schröckh, vol. xxvi., 209-228; Neander, iv., 169-172; Gieseler, ii., 288-291), and in Lingard's *History of England* (ii., 188 *sqq.*); also by Thierry, in his *Norman Conquest*; Dean Milman, in *Latin Christianity* (1854, bk. viii., ch. viii.); Dean Stanley, in *Historical Memorials of Canterbury* (6th edition, 1872); Reuter, in his *Alexander III.* (1860), vol. i., 237 *sqq.*, 530 *sqq.* (comp. his art. published, 1878, in Herzog, ii., 199-204); Dean W. F. Hook, in *Lives of the Archbishops of Canterbury*, vol. ii., 354-508 (London, 1862); Greenwood, in *Cathedra Petri* (1865), bk. xii., ch. vii.; John Lord Campbell, in *Lives of the Lord Chancellors and Keepers of the Great Seal of England*, vol. i., ch. iii., pp. 36-56 (5th edition, London, 1868); Hefele-Knöpfler, vol. v., 606 *sqq.* (2d edition, 1886).

Lord Tennyson has made Becket the subject of an historical drama, which was first published in 1884, and enacted on the stage in London, 1893.

The Mediæval Theocracy.

The papal theocracy is the central institution of mediæval Europe. St. Augustin, the greatest theological authority of the Middle Ages, laid the foundation for it in his apologetic work on the *City of God*, in which he identifies the visible Catholic Church with the kingdom of God in opposition to the kingdoms of this world. The pseudo-Isidorian decretals of obscure origin in the ninth century

went further: they identified the Catholic Church with the dominion of the papacy, and by a series of literary fictions traced it back to the second century. Hildebrand (Gregory VII.) is the most energetic representative of this theory among the popes. He was thoroughly convinced that, as the successor of Peter and the vicar of Christ, he had supreme control over the Christian world, and could depose kings and emperors, and absolve citizens from their oath of allegiance. He compares the Church to the sun, the State to the moon, which borrows her light from the sun. The episcopal dignity is above the kingly and imperial dignity, as heaven is above the earth. He admits the necessity of the State for the temporal government of men; but in his conflict with the civil power, he takes the pessimistic view that the State is the product of robbery, murder, and all sorts of crimes, and a disturbance of the original equality, which must be restored by the priestly power. He combined the highest view of the Church and the papacy with the lowest view of the State and the empire. He acted accordingly toward Emperor Henry IV., whom he twice excommunicated and deposed with fearful curses. The scene at Canossa represents the lowest degradation of the imperial power by the papal hierarchy. Gregory's successors down to Boniface VIII., acted in the same spirit towards temporal sovereigns. The papal party always maintained the theocratic superiority of the Church over the State, while the imperial party maintained the cæsaropapistic superiority of the State over the Church.

This conflict between priest-craft and state-craft, between *sacerdotium* and *imperium*, culminated in the contest between the Pope and the Emperor, but was repeated on a minor scale between the bishops and kings in the several states of Christendom.

The conflict of Thomas Becket with Henry II. of England, which took place during the pontificate of Pope Alexander III., and the reign of Emperor Frederick I. (Barbarossa), is one of the most important phases in the history of the mediæval theocracy.

Thomas Becket, Chancellor of England.

Thomas Becket, or Thomas à Becket, or St. Thomas of Canterbury, is, next to Alexander and Barbarossa, the most prominent historical figure in the twelfth century, and fills a chapter of thrilling interest in the history of England. He resumed the conflict of Anselm with the crown of the Norman kings, and by his martyrdom became the most popular saint of the later Middle Ages.

The materials for his history, from his birth in London to his murder in his own cathedral by four knights of the royal household, are abundant. We have six or seven contemporary biographies, besides fragments, legends, and "Passions," state papers, private letters, and a correspondence extending over the whole Latin Church. But his life is surrounded by a mist of romantic legends and theological controversies. He had extravagant admirers, like Herbert of Bosham, and fierce opponents, like Gilbert Foliot, in his own day; and modern biographers still differ in the estimate of his character, according to their creed and their views on the question of Church and State, some regarding him as a hero and a saint, others as a hypocrite and a traitor. We must judge him from the standpoint of the twelfth century.

Becket was born in London, December 21, 1118, during the reign of Henry I.¹ He was the son of Gilbert Becket, a merchant in Cheapside, originally from Rouen, and of Matilda or Rose, a native of Caen in Normandy.²

In the later legend his father appears as a gallant crusader, and his mother as a Saracen princess, who met in the East and fell in love with each other. Matilda helped Gilbert to escape from captivity, and then followed him alone to

¹ The dates vary between December 21, 1117, 1118, and 1119.

² The Norman descent of Becket rests on contemporary testimony, and is accepted by Giles, Lingard, Robertson, Milman, Hook, Freeman, Reuter, Hefele. The commercial advantages of London attracted emigrants from Normandy. Lord Lyttleton, Thierry, Campbell, and J. H. Froude make Becket a Saxon, but without authority. Becket is a surname and may be Norman as well as Saxon. The prefix *à* seems to be of later date, and to have its origin (according to Robertson and Hook) in vulgar colloquial usage.

England. Knowing only two English words, "London" and "Gilbert," she wandered through the streets of the city, till at last she found her beloved in Cheapside as by a miracle, was baptized and married to him in St. Paul's with great splendor. She had dreams of the future greatness and elevation of her infant son to the see of Canterbury.

Becket was educated at Merton Abbey in Surrey and in the schools of London. At a later period he attended the universities of Paris, Bologna, and Auxerre, and studied there chiefly civil and canon law, without attaining to special eminence in learning. He was neither a scholar nor a thinker, but a statesman and an ecclesiastic.

He made his mark in the world and the Church by the magnetism of his personality. He was very handsome, of tall, commanding presence, accomplished, brilliant, affable, cheerful in discourse, ready and eloquent in debate, fond of hunting and hawking, and proficient in all the sports of a mediæval cavalier. He could storm the strongest castle and unhorse the stoutest knight.

Archbishop Theobald of Canterbury (1139-1161) took him into his service (1142); sent him to Bologna, where Gratian then taught canon law; employed him in delicate missions with the papal court; made him archdeacon (1154), and bestowed upon him other profitable benefices, as the provostship of Beverly, a great many churches, and several prebends. When charged, as archbishop, with ingratitude to the king, who had raised him from "poverty," he proudly referred to this accumulation of preferments, and made no attempt to abolish the crying evil of plurality, which continued till the Reformation. Many a prosperous ecclesiastic regarded his parishes simply as sources of income, and discharged the duties by proxy through ignorant and ill-paid priests.

King Henry II. (1154-1189), in the second year of his reign, raised Becket, then only thirty-seven years of age, at Theobald's instance, to the chancellorship of England. The chancellor was the highest civil dignitary, and held the custody of nearly all the royal grants and favors, including

vacant bishoprics, abbacies, chaplaincies, and other ecclesiastical benefices.

Henry, the first of the proud Plantagenets, was an able, stirring, and energetic monarch. He kept on his feet from morning till evening, and rarely sat down. He introduced a reign of law and severe justice after the lawless violence and anarchy which had disturbed the reign of the unfortunate Stephen.¹ But he was passionate, vindictive, and licentious. He had frequent fits of rage, during which he behaved like a madman. He was the most powerful sovereign in Western Europe. His continental dominions were more extensive than those of the king of France, and embraced Maine and Normandy, Anjou and Aquitaine, reaching from Flanders to the foot of the Pyrenees. He afterwards (1171) added Ireland by conquest, with the authority of Popes Adrian IV. and Alexander III. His marriage to Queen Eleanor of Aquitaine, who had been divorced for infidelity from King Louis VII. of France, enriched his realm, but involved him in protracted wars with France, and in domestic troubles. Eleanor was jealous of her rivals,² incited her sons, Geoffrey and Richard, to rebel against their father, was imprisoned in 1173, and released after Henry's death in 1189 by his successor, Richard I., Cœur de Lion, who made her regent on his departure for the Holy Land. She afterwards retired to the abbey of Fontevrault, and died about 1203.

Becket occupied the chancellorship for seven years (1155-1162). He aided the king in the restoration of order and

¹ Tennyson describes Stephen's reign as

"A reign which was no reign, when none could sit
By his own hearth in peace; when murder common
As nature's death, like Egypt's plague, had filled
All things with blood."

² She poisoned Henry's favorite concubine, Rosamund de Clifford (1177), who, with her labyrinthine bower, figures largely in the literature of romance, also in Tennyson's *Becket*. On her tomb are inscribed the lines:

"*Hic jacet in tumba ROSA MUNDI, non ROSA MUNDA,
Non redolet, sed olet, qua redolere solet.*"

"Here Rose the graced, not Rose the chaste, reposes;
The smell that rises is no smell of roses."

peace. He improved the administration of justice. He was vigorous and impartial, and preferred the interests of the crown to those of the clergy, yet without being hostile to the Church. He was thoroughly loyal to the king, and served him as faithfully as he had served Theobald, and as afterwards he served the pope. Thorough devotion to official duty characterized him in all the stations of his career.

He gave to his high office a prominence and splendor which it never had before. He was as magnificent and omnipotent as Wolsey under Henry VIII. He was king in fact, though not in name, and acted as regent during Henry's frequent absences on the Continent. He dressed after the best fashion, surrounded himself with a brilliant retinue of a hundred and forty knights, exercised a prodigal hospitality, and spent enormous sums upon his household and public festivities, using in part the income of his various ecclesiastical benefices, which he retained without a scruple. He presided at royal banquets in Westminster Hall. His tables were adorned with vessels of gold, with the most delicate and sumptuous food, and with wine of the choicest vintage. He superintended the training of English and foreign nobles, and of the young Prince Henry. He was the favorite of the king, the army, the nobility, the clergy, and the people.

The chancellor negotiated in person a matrimonial alliance (three years before it was consummated) between the heir of the crown (then a boy of seven years) and a daughter of the king of France (a little lady of three). He took with him on that mission two hundred knights, priests, and standard-bearers, all festively arrayed in new attire, twenty-four changes of raiment, all kinds of dogs and birds for field sports, eight wagons, each drawn by five horses, each horse in charge of a stout young man dressed in a new tunic. Coffers and chests contained the chancellor's money and presents. One horse, which preceded all the rest, carried the holy vessels of his chapel, the holy books, and the ornaments of the altar. The Frenchmen, seeing this train,

exclaimed : " How wonderful must be the king of England, whose chancellor travels in such state ! " In Paris he freely distributed his gold and silver plate and changes of raiment, —to one a robe, to another a furred cloak, to a third a pelisse, to a fourth a war-horse. He gained his object, and universal popularity.

When, notwithstanding his efforts to maintain peace, war broke out between France and England, the chancellor was the bravest warrior at the head of seven hundred knights, whom he had enlisted at his own expense, and he offered to lead the storming party at the siege of Toulouse, where King Louis was shut up ; but the scruples of Henry prevented him from offering violence to the king of France. He afterwards took three castles which were deemed impregnable, and returned triumphant to England. One of his eulogists (Edward Grim) reports to his credit : " Who can recount the carnage, the desolation, which he made at the head of a strong body of soldiers ? He attacked castles, razed towns and cities to the ground, burned down houses and farms without a touch of pity, and never showed the slightest mercy to any one who rose in insurrection against his master's authority." Such cruelty was quite compatible with mediæval conceptions of piety and charity, as the history of the Crusades shows. Archbishop Christian of Mainz appeared at the head of armies ; he once killed five men in battle with his spiked club, and on the following day he celebrated mass in thanksgiving for the victory. During the lawless reign of Stephen, the prelates of England wore arms, and freely mingled in war or local feuds ; and " Christian knights " (as Lingard says) " gloried in barbarities which would have disgraced their pagan forefathers."

Becket was made for the court and the camp. Yet, though his life was purely secular, it was not immoral. He joined the king in his diversions, but not in his debaucheries. Being in deacon's orders, he was debarred from marriage, but preserved his chastity at a profligate court. This point is especially mentioned to his credit ; for chastity was a rare virtue in the Middle Ages.

Altogether, his public life as chancellor was honorable and brilliant, and secures him a place among the distinguished statesmen of England. But a still more important career awaited him.¹

Thomas Becket as Archbishop of Canterbury.

A year after the death of Theobald, April 18, 1161, Becket was appointed archbishop of Canterbury by the king. He accepted reluctantly, and warned the king, with a smile, that he would lose a servant and a friend.² The learned and energetic Bishop Gilbert Foliot of Hereford (afterwards of London) remarked sarcastically, perhaps from disappointed ambition, that "the king had wrought a miracle in turning a layman into an archbishop, and a soldier into a saint."

Becket was ordained priest on the Saturday after Pentecost, and consecrated archbishop on the following day with great magnificence in Westminster Abbey, June 3, 1162. His first act was to appoint the Sunday after Whitsunday as a festival of the Holy Trinity in the Church of England. He acknowledged Alexander III. as the rightful pope, and received from him the *pallium* through his friend, John of Salisbury.

He was the first native Englishman who occupied the seat of the primate since the Norman Conquest; for Lanfranc and Anselm were Italians; Ralph of Escures, William of Corbeuil, and Theobald of Bec were Normans or Frenchmen. There is, however, no ground for the misleading theory of Thierry that Becket asserted the cause of the Saxon against the Norman. His contest with the king was not a contest between two nationalities, but between Church

¹ Freeman, who exalts him as chancellor, thinks that he failed as archbishop; but his martyrdom was his greatest triumph.

² Tennyson ingeniously introduces his drama with a game of chess between Henry and Becket, during which the king informs the chancellor of the fatal illness of Theobald, and speaks of the need of a mightier successor, who would punish guilty clerks; while the chancellor quietly moves his bishop and checkmates the king; whereupon Henry kicks over the board, saying:—

"Why, there, then—down go bishop and king together."

and State. He took the same position on this question as his Norman predecessors, only with more zeal and energy. He was a thorough Englishman. The two nations had at that time, by intermarriages and social and commercial intercourse, pretty well coalesced, at least among the middle classes, to which he belonged.¹

He was expected to combine the two highest offices of the kingdom; but, to Henry's great disappointment, Becket resigned the chancellorship, that he might wholly devote himself to the archbishopric. He meant to break off the old familiarity and friendship.

With the change of office, Becket underwent a radical and almost sudden transformation. The foremost champion of kingcraft became the foremost champion of priestcraft; the most devoted friend of the king, his most dangerous rival and enemy; the brilliant chancellor, an austere and squalid monk. He exchanged the showy court dress for haircloth infested with vermin, fed on roots, and drank nauseous water. He daily washed, with proud humility and ostentatious charity, the feet of thirteen dirty beggars, and gave each of them four pieces of silver. He doubled the charities of Theobald, as Theobald had doubled the charities of his predecessor. He wandered alone in his cloister, shedding tears of repentance for past sins, frequently inflicted stripes on his naked back, and spent much time in prayer and reading of the Scriptures. He successfully strove to realize the ideal of a mediæval bishop, which combines the loftiest ecclesiastical pretensions with personal humility, profuse charity, and ascetic self-mortification. He was no hypocrite, but his sanctity, viewed from the biblical and Protestant standpoint, was artificial and unnatural.

His relation to the king was that of the pope to the emperor. Yea, we may say, as he had outroyalled royalty as chancellor, so he outpoped the pope as archbishop. He censured the pope for his temporizing policy. He wielded the spiritual sword against Henry with the same gallantry

¹ "Though of Norman blood, his whole feeling, his whole character is English, and it is clear that no man looked on him as a stranger." Freeman (*l.c.*, p. 101 *sq.*).

with which he had wielded the temporal sword for him. He took up the cause of Anselm against William Rufus, and of Gregory VII. against Henry IV., but with this great difference, that he was not zealous for a moral reformation of the Church and the clergy, like Hildebrand and Anselm, but only for the temporal power of the Church and the rights and immunities of the clergy. He made no attempt to remove the scandal of plurality, of which he had himself been guilty as archdeacon and chancellor, and did not rebuke Henry for his many sins against God, but only for his sins against the supremacy of the hierarchy.¹ "Holy Church," he said, "is the mother of us all, both kings and priests; and she has two kings, two laws, two jurisdictions, two controlling powers,—one over the soul, one over the body. Two swords are enough. When the two powers come into conflict, the Church is supreme."

The new archbishop was summoned by Pope Alexander III. to a council at Tours in France, and was received with unusual distinction (May, 1163). The council consisted of seventeen cardinals, a hundred and twenty-four bishops, four hundred and fourteen abbots; the pope presided in person; Becket sat at his right, Roger of York at his left. Arnolf of Lisieux in Normandy preached the opening sermon on the unity and freedom of the Church, which were the burning questions of the day. The council unanimously acknowledged the claims of Alexander, asserted the rights and privileges of the clergy, and severely condemned all encroachments on the property of the Church.

This was the point which kindled the controversy between the sceptre and the crozier in England. The dignity of the crown was the sole aim of the king; the dignity of the Church was the sole aim of the archbishop.

¹ Dean Milman (bk. viii. ch. viii.) says: "Henry II. was a sovereign who, with many noble and kingly qualities, lived more than even most monarchs of his age in direct violation of every Christian precept of justice, humanity, conjugal fidelity. He was lustful, cruel, treacherous, arbitrary. But throughout this contest there is no remonstrance whatever from primate or pope against his disobedience to the laws of God, only to those of the Church."

Henry determined to transfer the customary payment of two shillings on every hide of land to his own exchequer. Becket opposed the enrolment of the decree on the ground that the tax was voluntary, not of right. Henry protested, in a fit of passion: "By the eyes of God, it shall be enrolled!" Becket replied: "By the eyes of God, by which you swear, it shall never be levied on my lands while I live!"

The king summoned a Parliament at Westminster, and demanded in the name of equal justice, and in accordance with "ancient customs" (of the Norman kings), that all clerks accused of heinous crimes should be immediately degraded, and be dealt with according to law, instead of being shielded by their office. This was contrary to the right of the priest to be tried only in the court of his bishop, where flagellation, imprisonment, and degradation might be awarded but not capital punishment; hence the crimes of robbery and homicide, for which laymen were hanged by scores, were inadequately punished in clergymen. Becket himself had protected some notorious offenders and refused to surrender them to the secular court. The bishops were disposed to yield to the king's demand, but Becket inflexibly maintained the inviolability of the sacred persons of the clergy. He would only admit the traditional rights of the crown, with the distinct reservation of the rights of the clerical order (*salvo ordine nostro et jure ecclesiæ.*)

The king hastily broke up the Parliament, deprived Becket of the custody of the royal castles, and of the education of his son. The bishops advised the archbishop to yield; at first he refused, though an angel from heaven should counsel such weakness; but at last he made a concession to the king at Woodstock, and promised to obey in good faith the customs of the realm. He yielded at the persuasion of the pope's almoner (Philip de Eleemosyna), who was bribed by English gold.¹

¹ Tennyson makes Beckett say:—

"This Almoner hath tasted Henry's gold.
The cardinals have fingered Henry's gold.
And Rome is venal even to rottenness."

The Constitutions of Clarendon.

The king summoned a great council of the realm at Clarendon, a royal palace a few miles from Salisbury, for the ratification of the concession (Jan. 25, 1164). The two archbishops, twelve bishops, and thirty-nine lay-barons were present. Sixteen famous statutes were enacted, under the name of "The Clarendon Constitutions," as laws of England. They are as follows:¹—

I. Of the advowson and presentation (*de advocacione et presentatione*) to churches: if any dispute shall arise between laics, or between clerks and laics, or between clerks, let it be tried and decided in the court of our lord the king.

II. Churches of the king's fee (*de feudo domini Regis*) shall not be given in perpetuity without his consent and license.

III. Clerks accused of any crime shall be summoned by the king's justiciaries into the king's court to answer there for whatever the king's court shall determine they ought to answer there; and in the ecclesiastical court, for whatever it shall be determined that they ought to answer there; yet so that the king's justiciaries shall send into the court of holy Church to see in what way the matter shall there be handled; and if the clerk shall confess or be convicted, the Church for the future shall not protect him.

IV. No archbishop, bishop, or other exalted person shall leave the kingdom without the king's license; and if they wish to leave it, the king shall be empowered, if he pleases, to take security from them, that they will do no harm to the king or kingdom, either in going or remaining, or in returning.

V. Persons excommunicated are not to give bail, *ad remanentiam*, nor to make oath, but only to give bail and pledge that they will stand by the judgment of the Church where they are absolved.

VI. Laics shall not be accused, save by certain and legal accusers and witnesses in presence of the bishop, so that the archdeacon may not lose his rights, or anything which ac-

¹ They are found in Matthew Paris, *Ad ann. 1164*; Mansi, xxi., 1187; Wilkins, *Concilia M. Britannia*, vol. i.; Gieseler, ii. 89 *sqq.* (Am. ed. ii. 289 *sq.*); Reuter, i., 371-375, 573-577; Hefele-Knöpfler, v., 623-628 (in German); Giles, ii., 390-392 (in English); Hook, ii., 406-408. Baronius, *Ad ann. 1164*, No. 37, gives the text from a Vatican codex with the papal addition of *Damnamus* or *Toleramus* to the several articles.

crues to him therefrom. And if those who are arraigned are such that no one is willing or dares to accuse them, the sheriff, on demand from the bishop, shall cause twelve loyal men of the village to swear before the bishop that they will declare the truth in that matter according to their conscience.

VII. No one who holds of the king in chief, nor any of his domestic servants, shall be excommunicated, nor his lands be put under an interdict, until the king shall be consulted, if he is in the kingdom; or, if he is abroad, his justiciary, that he may do what is right in that matter, and so that whatever belongs to the king's court may therein be settled, and the same on the other hand of the ecclesiastical court.

VIII. Appeals, if they arise, must be made from the archdeacon to the bishop, and from the bishop to the archbishop; and if the archbishop shall fail in administering justice, the parties shall come before our lord the king, that by his precept the controversy may be terminated in the archbishop's court, so that it may not proceed further without the consent of our lord the king.

IX. If a dispute shall arise between a clerk and a laic, or between a laic and a clerk, about a tenement, which the clerk wishes to claim as eleemosynary, but the laic claims as lay fee, it shall be settled by the declaration of twelve qualified men, through the agency of the king's capital judiciary, whether the tenement is eleemosynary or lay fee, in presence of the king's judiciaries. And if it shall be declared that it is eleemosynary, it shall be pleaded in the ecclesiastical court; but, if a lay fee, unless both shall claim the tenement of the same bishop or baron, it shall be pleaded in the king's court; but if both shall claim of that fee from the same bishop or baron, it shall be pleaded in his court, yet so that the same declaration above-named shall not deprive of seizing him who before was seized, until he shall be divested by the pleadings.

X. If any man belonging to a city, castle, borough, or king's royal manor shall be summoned by the archdeacon or bishop to answer for a crime, and shall not comply with the summons, it shall be lawful to place him under an interdict, but not to excommunicate him, until the king's principal officer of that place be informed thereof, that he may justify his appearing to the summons; and if the king's officer shall fail in that matter, he shall be at the king's mercy, and the bishop shall forthwith coerce the party accused with ecclesiastical discipline.

XI. The archbishops, bishops, and all other persons of the kingdom, who hold of the king in chief, shall hold their possessions of the king as barony, and answer for the same to the king's justiciaries and officers, and follow and observe all the king's customs and rectitudes; and be bound to be present, in the judgment of the king's court with the barons, like other barons, until the judgment proceeds to mutilation or death.

XII. When an archbishopric, bishopric, abbacy, or priory on the king's domain shall be vacant, it shall be in his hand, and he shall receive from it all the revenues and proceeds, as of his domains. And when the time shall come for providing for that church, our lord the king shall recommend the best persons to that church, and the election shall be made in the king's chapel, with the king's consent, and the advice of the persons of the kingdom whom he shall have summoned for that purpose. And the person elected shall there do homage and fealty to our lord the king, as to his liege lord, of life and limb, and of his earthly honors saving his orders, before he is consecrated.

XIII. If any of the king's nobles shall have refused to render justice to an archbishop or bishop or archdeacon, for himself or any of his men, our lord the king shall justice them. And if by chance any one shall have deforced our lord the king of his rights, the archbishops, bishops, and archdeacons shall justice him that he may render satisfaction to the king.

XIV. The chattels of those who are in forfeiture to the king shall not be detained by the Church or the cemetery, in opposition to the king's justice, for they belong to the king, whether they are found in the Church or without.

XV. Pleas for debts which are due, whether with the interposition of a pledge of faith or not, belong to the king's court.

XVI. The sons of rustics shall not be ordained without the consent of the lord, in whose land they are known to have been born.

The bishops subscribed to these "customs" and swore adherence to them. Becket himself did so, having previously committed himself by a vague promise at Woodstock. Three copies were made,—one for the king, one for the archbishop of Canterbury, one for the archbishop of York. The king, not satisfied with an oath, which may be broken,

demanded the additional security of a seal, which cannot be torn from a public document. The bishops complied. Becket's conduct is differently reported. Some say that he obstinately refused; others, that he asked time for consideration; others, that he reluctantly put his seal to the document. The last seems most probable; for he himself felt guilty, and bitterly repented of his weakness. On his return to Canterbury he imposed upon himself severe penances, and sought and obtained the pope's absolution from his oath. But Alexander, hard pressed by Barbarossa and the anti-popes, and anxious to keep the good-will of Henry, tried to please both parties. He granted, at the request of Henry, legatine commission over all England to Archbishop Roger of York, the rival of the primate of Canterbury. He also afterwards authorized the coronation of Henry's eldest son by the archbishop of York in the Abbey of Westminster (June 18, 1170), although such coronation was the exclusive privilege of the archbishop of Canterbury. This aggravated the difficulty with the king, and brought on the final crisis.

In the meantime the Clarendon Constitutions were carried out. Clergymen convicted of crime in the king's court were condemned and punished like laymen.

Becket attempted to flee to the pope, and sailed for the Continent, but was brought back by the sailors on account of adverse winds. This was a violation of the law which forbade bishops to leave the country without royal permission.

He was summoned before a great council of bishops and nobles at the royal castle of Northampton in the autumn of 1164, and charged with misconduct in secular affairs while chancellor and archbishop. But his courage rose with the danger. He refused to answer, and appealed to the pope. He was to be arrested; but he forbade the peers under anathema to pronounce the sentence. He made his escape to the Continent in the disguise of a monk, at midnight, accompanied by two monks and a servant, and provided with his episcopal pall and seal.

The king seized the revenues of the archbishop, forbade

public prayers for him, banished him from the kingdom, ordered the banishment of all his kinsmen and friends, including four hundred persons of both sexes, and suspended the payment of Peter's pence to the pope.

Thomas Becket in Exile.

Becket spent fully six years in exile, from October, 1164, to December, 1170. King Louis of France, an enemy of Henry and admirer of Becket, received him with distinction and recommended him to the pope, who, himself in exile, resided at Sens. Becket met Alexander, laid before him the Constitutions of Clarendon, and tendered his resignation. The pope condemned ten as a violation of ecclesiastical privileges, and tolerated six as less evil than the rest. He tenderly rebuked Becket for his weakness in swearing to them, but consoled him with the assurance that he had atoned for it by his sufferings. He restored to him the archiepiscopal ring, thus ratifying his primacy, promised him his protection, and committed him to the hospitable care of the abbot of Pontigny, a Cistercian monastery about twelve leagues distant from Sens. Here Becket lived till 1166, like a stern monk, on pulse and gruel, slept on a bed of straw, and submitted at midnight to the flagellation of his chaplain, but occasionally indulged in better diet, and retained some of his former magnificence in his surroundings. His sober friend, John of Salisbury, remonstrated against the profuse expenditure.

Henry threatened to abandon Alexander, and to embrace the cause of Barbarossa and the anti-pope, Pascal III., who was elected at Würzburg in 1165.

Becket proceeded to the fearful extremity of pronouncing in the church of Vezelay, on Whitsuntide, 1166, the sentence of excommunication on all the authors and defenders of the Constitutions of Clarendon. He spared the king, who was then dangerously ill, but in a lower tone, half choked with tears, he threatened him with the vengeance of God, and his realm with the interdict. He announced the sentence to the pope and all the clergy of England, saying to

the latter: "Who presumes to doubt that the priests of God are the fathers and masters of kings, princes, and all the faithful?"

The wrath of Henry knew no bounds. He closed the ports of England against the bearers of the instrument of excommunication, threatening them with shameful mutilation, hanging, and burning. He procured the expulsion of Becket from Pontigny, who withdrew to a monastery near the archiepiscopal city of Sens. He secured through his ambassadors several concessions from Alexander, who was then in exile at Benevento. The pope was anxious to retain the support of the king, and yet he wrote soothing letters to Becket, assuring him that the concessions were to be only temporary. Becket answered with indignation, and denounced the papal court for its venality and rapacity. "Your gold and silver," he wrote to the cardinals, "will not deliver you in the day of the wrath of the Lord." In a letter to Cardinal Albert (1170) he goes so far as to say: "I know not how it is; but at your court, now as ever, Christ is crucified and Barabbas released. Our proscription and the sufferings of the Church have now lasted nearly six years. The poor and blameless exiles are condemned, whilst, on the other hand, the sacrilegious, the murderers, the impenitent thieves are absolved, though St. Peter himself would have no power to acquit them. . . . We can no longer defend the liberty of the Church, because the apostolic see has now protracted our exile to the sixth year. O God, look to it and judge our cause! Yet for that Church we are prepared to die. If all cardinals rise up against us, and arm not only the English king, but all the world to our destruction, I will never, with God's blessing, either in life or in death, withdraw from my fidelity to the Church. I commit my cause for the future to God, for whom I am suffering exile and proscription." Becket repeated his excommunication of Henry. Like Gregory VII., he applied the words, "Cursed is he that refraineth his sword from blood," to the spiritual weapon. He even commanded the bishops of England to lay the whole kingdom under interdict, and to suspend the

offices of religion (except baptism, penance, and extreme unction), unless the king should give full satisfaction before the feast of purification, Nov. 2, 1170. He demanded of the pope that he should treat the king's ambassadors as actually excommunicated.

These extreme measures were not without effect. Several bishops began to waver and change from the king's cause to that of the archbishop. The king himself was alarmed at the menace of the interdict. The pope pursued his temporizing policy, and counselled concessions by both parties.

The king and the archbishop suddenly made peace in a respectful personal interview at Fretteville (Freteval), a castle between Tours and Chartres, July 22, 1170. Henry said nothing about the Clarendon Constitutions, but made the offer that Becket should crown his daughter-in-law (the daughter of the king of France), and should on that occasion repeat the coronation of his son. Becket laid the blame on the shoulders of Henry's counsellors, and showed moderation and prudence. The king did not offer the kiss of peace, nor did the archbishop demand it.

But while Becket was willing to pardon the king, he meant to exercise his spiritual authority over his evil counsellors, and especially over the archbishop of York, and the bishops of London and Salisbury. These prelates had recently (June 18) officiated at the coronation of Henry's son, under the assumed sanction of a papal brief, although Alexander, in letters to Becket, had revoked the permission.¹ The encroachment on the inalienable right of the archbishop of Canterbury seemed to him an unpardonable sin; and it was this coronation, even more than the original and more important dispute about the immunity of the clergy, that led to the catastrophe.

¹ See the pope's letter to the archbishop of York in the *Memorials*, vol. vi., 206 sq., and Robertson's note; also Reuter, ii., 683 sq. The letter is not in the Vatican, but in other MSS., and is admitted as genuine by Jaffé. It was probably written in the beginning of 1170, when Alexander was hard pressed by Barbarossa in the siege of Rome. See the other letters on the subject in *Memorials*, vol. vii., 257, 305 sqq., 399.

Becket's Return to England.

After prolonged negotiations with the papal court and the king, Becket returned to his long-neglected flock, Dec. 1, 1170. On landing at Sandwich (instead of Dover, where he was expected), he was surprised by enemies, who searched his baggage, and demanded that he should withdraw his excommunication of the bishops who were then at Dover. He refused. On his way to Canterbury the country clergy and people met him, spread their garments in the way, and chanted: "Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord." He rode to the cathedral followed by a vast procession, amid the ringing of the bells, and preached on the text, "Here we have no abiding city."

Becket's first object was to conciliate the young king, formerly his pupil, then at Woodstock. He sent him three splendid chargers as a present, and set out to meet him in person. He passed in great state through Rochester and London, but was ordered to return immediately from the city of his birth to the city of his death. On Christmas Eve he was annoyed and unduly excited by petty insults from the family of the Brocs of Saltwood. Randulf de Broc seized a ship laden with wine for the archbishop, and hunted down his deer in his woods; John de Broc cut off the tails of a sumpter mule and of a horse belonging to him. On Christmas Day, Becket preached a war sermon on the text, "Peace on earth to men of good will."¹ He confined peace to men of good will, arraigned the king's courtiers and councillors, and fulminated with a voice of thunder the excommunication on Sir Randulf de Broc and other obnoxious persons, who had recently committed outrages against the archiepiscopal property. At each curse he quenched the light and dashed a candle on the floor, in token of the extinction of his enemies. Towards the close he alluded to the possibility of his own martyrdom. "One martyr," he said, "you have already" (Alfege, who was

¹ According to the Vulgate reading and rendering, *hominibus bonæ voluntatis* (not *bona voluntas*). The Greek MSS. in Luke 2: 14 vary between the genitive *εὐδοκίας* and the nominative *εὐδοκία*.

murdered by the Danes and buried in Canterbury); "if God will, you will soon have another." On the next two days he celebrated mass and sent messages to the king of France and the archbishop of Sens through his faithful servant, Herbert of Bosham, telling him that he would see him no more. He also sent a messenger to the pope. In the night of Sunday, the 27th, he received a warning from France against attacks on his life.

The excommunicated prelates of York, London, and Salisbury sought the protection of the king, who was then at a castle near Bayeaux in Normandy. He said: "If all are to be excommunicated who officiated at my son's coronation, by the eyes of God, I am equally guilty." One of the prelates (perhaps Roger of York) remarked: "As long as Thomas lives, you will never be at peace." Henry broke out into one of his constitutional fits of passion, and dropped the fatal words: "A fellow that has eaten my bread, has lifted up his heel against me; a fellow that I loaded with benefits, dares insult the king; a fellow that came to court on a lame horse, with a cloak for a saddle, sits without hindrance on the throne itself. By the eyes of God, is there none of my thankless and cowardly courtiers who will deliver me from the insults of this low-born and turbulent priest?" With these words he rushed out of the room.

The Martyrdom of Becket. Dec. 29, 1170.¹

Four warlike knights of high birth and large estate, chamberlains to the king,²—Sir Reginald Fitz-Urse ("Son of the

¹ On the murder of Becket we have the reports of five eye-witnesses,—Edward Grim (a Saxon monk of Cambridge), William Fitz-Stephen (Becket's chaplain), John of Salisbury (his faithful friend), William of Canterbury, and the anonymous author of a Lambeth MS. Two other biographers, Herbert of Bosham and Roger of Pontigny, though absent from England at that time, were on intimate terms with Becket, and took great pains to ascertain the facts to the minutest details. The most graphic modern account from these sources is given by Dean Stanley in his article, "The Murder of Becket" in *Historical Memorials of Canterbury*, pp. 67-146 (American ed. 1889).

² *Cubicularii*, gentlemen of the bed-chamber.

Bear," whom Becket had originally introduced to the court), Sir William de Tracy (of royal blood), Hugh de Moreville (judiciary of Northumberland and Cumberland), and Sir Richard le Bret or Breton (commonly known as Brito'),—eagerly caught up the king's suggestion, and resolved to carry it out in the spirit of passionate loyalty, at their own risk, as best they could, by imprisonment, or exile, or, if necessary, by murder. They seem to have had no premeditated plan except that of signal vengeance. Without waiting for instructions, they at once departed on separate routes for England, and met at the castle of Saltwood, which belonged to the see of Canterbury, but was then occupied by Randulf of Broc. They collected a band of about a dozen armed men, and reached St. Augustine's abbey outside of the walls of Canterbury, early on the 29th of December, which was a Tuesday.¹

On the morning of that fatal day, Becket had forebodings of his death, and advised the clergy to escape to Sandwich before daylight. He attended mass in the cathedral, confessed to two monks, and received three scourgings, as was his custom. At the banquet he drank more freely than usual, and said to the cupbearer: "He who has much blood to shed must drink much." After dinner he retired to his private room and sat on his bed, talking to his friends, John of Salisbury, William Fitz-Stephen, and Edward Grim. He was then still in his vigor, being in the fifty-third year of his age, retaining his majestic aspect and the lustre of his large eyes.

On the same Tuesday of the Christmas week, at about four o'clock in the afternoon, the knights went to the archbishop's palace, leaving their weapons behind, and concealing their coats of mail by the ordinary cloak and gown.

¹ The biographers say he was more fit to be called "the Brute."

² Tuesday was considered a day of ill omen for Becket. It was on that day of the week that he was born and baptized, that he fled from Northampton, that he departed from England for his exile, that he received warning of his martyrdom in a vision at Pontigny, that he returned from exile, that he was murdered, that his relics were translated; and it was the day which afterwards at his festival became the high day.

They demanded from him, in the name of the king, the absolution of the excommunicated bishops and courtiers. He refused, and referred them to the pope, who alone could absolve them. He declared: "I will never spare a man who violates the canons of Rome or the rights of the Church. My spirituals I hold from God and the pope; my temporals, from the king. Render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and unto God the things that are God's." The knights said: "You speak in peril of your life." Becket replied: "Come ye to murder me in my own house? You cannot be more ready to kill me than I am to die. You threaten me in vain; were all the swords in England hanging over my head, you could not terrify me from my obedience to God and my lord the pope. I defy you, and will meet you foot to foot in the battle of the Lord." He alluded to the fealty sworn to him while chancellor by Fitz-Urse, Moreville, and Tracy. This touched the tenderest nerve of their feudal pride. During the altercation, Becket lost command over his fiery temper. His friend, John of Salisbury, gently censured him for his exasperating tone. The knights rushed out of court and called their men to arms. A few minutes before five, the bell tolled for vespers. Urged by his friends, the archbishop, with his cross carried before him, went through the cloisters to the cathedral. The service had begun, the monks were chanting the psalms in the choir, the church was filled with people, when two boys rushed up the nave and created a panic by announcing that soldiers were breaking into the palace. The attendants of Becket, who had entered the church, shut the door and urged him to move into the choir for safety. "Away, you cowards!" he said, "by virtue of your obedience, I command you not to shut the door; the church must not be turned into a fortress." He was evidently prepared and eager for martyrdom. He himself reopened the door, and dragged the excluded monks into the building, exclaiming, "Come in, come in,—faster, faster!" The monks and priests were terror-stricken and fled in every direction, to the recesses and side-chapels, to the roof above, and the crypt

below. Three only remained faithful,—Canon Robert of Merton, Chaplain William Fitz-Stephen, and the monk Edward Grim. One of the monks confesses that he ran with clasped hands up the steps as fast as he could.

Becket proceeded to the high altar and archiepiscopal chair, in which he and all his predecessors from time immemorial had been enthroned. There, no doubt, he wished to gain the crown of martyrdom. It was now about five in a winter evening; the shades of night were gathering, and the lamps on the altars shed only a dim light in the dark cathedral. The tragedy which followed was finished in a few minutes.

In the meantime, the knights, clad in mail which covered their faces up to their eyes, and with drawn swords, followed by a motley group of ruffians, provided with hatchets, rushed into the cathedral and shouted: "Where is the traitor? Where is the archbishop?" Becket replied, descending the steps of the altar and facing his enemies; "Behold me, no traitor, but a priest of God!" They again demanded the absolution of the bishops and his surrender to the king's justice. "I cannot do otherwise than I have done," he said, and turning to Fitz-Urse, who was armed with a sword and an axe, he added: "Reginald, you have received many favors at my hands: why do you come into my church armed?" The knights tried to drag him out of the sanctuary, not intending to kill him there; but he clung to the pillar between the altars of the Virgin, his special patroness, and St. Benedict, whose rule he followed, and said: "I am ready to die. May the Church through my blood obtain peace and liberty! I charge you in the name of God Almighty that you hurt no one here but me." In the struggle, he grappled with De Tracy and threw him to the pavement. He called Fitz-Urse (who had seized him by the collar of his long cloak), a miserable wretch, and wrenched the cloak from his grasp, saying: "Off, thou pander, thou!"¹ The soldier, maddened by the foul epithet, waving the sword over his head, struck

¹ "*Lenonem appellans.*" Becket was wont to use violent language. He called Geoffrey Riddell, the archdeacon of Canterbury, "archdevil." Three years after Becket's death, Riddell was made bishop of Ely.

the first blow, and dashed off his cap. Tracy, rising from the pavement, aimed at his head ; but Edward Grim, standing by, interposed his arm, which was almost severed, and then, he sank back against the wall. Becket received blow after blow in an attitude of prayer. As he felt the blood trickling down his face, he bowed his neck for the death-blow, clasped his hands, and said in a low voice : " I commend my cause and the cause of the Church to God, to St. Denys, the martyr of France, to St. Alfege, and to the saints of the Church. In the name of Christ and for the defence of his Church, I am ready to die. Lord, receive my spirit. "

These were his last words. The next blow threw him on his knees, the last laid him on the floor at the foot of the altar of St. Benedict. His hands were still joined as if in prayer. Richard the Breton cut off the upper part of his skull, which had received the sacred oil. Hugh of Horsea, the subdeacon, trampled upon his neck, thrust his sword into the ghastly wound, and scattered the blood and the brains over the pavement. Then he said : " Let us go, let us go : the traitor is dead ; he will rise no more. "

The murderers rushed from the church through the cloisters into the palace for plunder ; a tremendous thunder-storm broke over the cathedral. They stole about two thousand marks in gold and silver, and rode off on Becket's fine horses in the thick darkness of the night.

The body of Thomas was buried in the crypt. The remains of his blood and brains were sacredly kept. His monkish admirers discovered, to their amazement and delight, that the martyr, who had once been arrayed in purple and fine linen, wore on his skin under his many garments the coarsest haircloth, abounding with vermin. This seemed to betray the perfection of ascetic sanctity, according to mediæval notions.

The Effects of Becket's Murder.

The atrocious murder sent a thrill of horror through the Christian world. The moment of Becket's death was

his triumph. His exalted station, his personal virtues, the sacrilege,—all contributed to deepen the impression. At first opinion was divided, as he had strong enemies, even at Canterbury. A monk declared that Becket paid a just penalty for his obstinacy; others said, "He wished to be king and more than king"; the archbishop of York dared to preach that Becket "perished, like Pharaoh, in his pride."

But the torrent of public admiration soon silenced all opposition. Miracles took place at his tomb, and sealed his claim to the worship of a saint and martyr. "The blind see, the deaf hear, the dumb speak, the lame walk, the lepers are cleansed, the devils are cast out, even the dead are raised to life." Thus wrote John of Salisbury, his friend.¹ Remarkable cures, no doubt, took place; credulity and fraud exaggerated and multiplied them. Within a few years after the murder, two collections of his miracles were published, one by Benedict, prior of Canterbury (afterwards abbot of Peterborough), and one by William, monk of Canterbury.²

Two years after his death (Feb. 21, 1173), Becket was solemnly canonized by Alexander III., who had given him only a lukewarm support in his fight with the king. There is scarcely another example of such an early recognition of saintship; but public sentiment had anticipated it. At a council in Westminster the papal letters of canonization were read. All the bishops who had opposed Becket were present, begged pardon for their offence, and acquiesced in the pope's decision. The 29th of December was set apart as the feast of "St. Thomas of Canterbury."

¹ See his *Vita S. Th.* in the *Memorials*, etc., ii., 322 : "*In loco passionis eius . . . paralytici curantur, cæci vident, surdi audiunt, loquuntur muti, claudi ambulant, leprosi mundantur . . . et quod a diebus patrum nostrorum non est auditum, mortui resurgunt.*"

² William's long *Vita et Passio S. Th.* is printed in the *Memorials*, vol. i., 173-546. The credulous Alban Butler, in his *Lives of the Saints*, quotes from an old English MS. of a pretended eye-witness, who records two hundred and sixty-three miracles wrought by the intercession of St. Thomas, — many more than are found in the whole Bible.

Humiliation of King Henry II.

King Henry II., as the supposed author of the monstrous crime, was branded with a popular excommunication. On the first news, he shut himself up for three days in his chamber, rolled himself in sackcloth and ashes, and obstinately refused food and comfort. He lived secluded for five weeks, exclaiming again and again: "Alas, alas that it ever happened!" He issued orders for the apprehension of the murderers; and despatched envoys to the pope to exculpate himself and to avert the calamity of excommunication and an interdict.¹ After long delay a reconciliation took place in the cathedral of Avranches in Normandy, before the papal legates, the archbishop of Rouen, and many bishops and noblemen, May 22, 1172.² Henry swore on the holy Gospels that he had neither commanded nor desired the death of Becket, that it caused him more grief than the death of his father or his mother, and that he was ready to make full satisfaction. He pledged himself to abrogate the Statutes of Clarendon; to restore the church of Canterbury to all its rights and possessions; to undertake, if the pope should require it, a three years' crusade to Jerusalem or Spain, and to support two hundred knights in the Holy Land. After these pledges he said aloud: "Behold, my lord legates, my body is in your hands; be assured that whatever you order, whether to go to Jerusalem or to Rome or to St. James [of Compostella in Spain], I am ready to obey." He was led by the bishops into the church and reconciled. His son, who was present, promised Cardinal Albert to make good his father's pledges. This penance was followed by a deeper humiliation at Canterbury.

Two years later, July 12, 1174, the king, depressed by disasters and the rebellion of his wife and his sons, made even a pilgrimage to the tomb of Becket. He dismounted from his horse as he came in sight of the towers of Canter-

¹ It is stated by Gervase that the envoys secured an interview with the pope at Tusculum by a bribe of five hundred marks. Stanley, *l. c.*, p. 136.

² A granite pillar in the Norman cathedral at Avranches bears an inscription in memory of the event. It is given by Stanley, p. 136.

bury, walked as a penitent pilgrim in a woollen shirt, with bare and bleeding feet, through the streets, knelt in the porch of the cathedral, kissed the sacred stone on which the archbishop had fallen, threw himself prostrate before the tomb in the crypt, and confessed to the bishops with groans and tears his deep remorse for the hasty words which had led to the murder. Gilbert Foliot, bishop of London, once Becket's rival and enemy, announced to the monks and bystanders the king's penitence and intention to restore the rights and property of the church, and to bestow forty marks yearly on the monastery to keep lamps burning at the martyr's tomb. The king, placing his head and shoulders in the tomb, submitted to the degrading punishment of scourging, and received five stripes from each bishop and abbot, and three stripes from each of the eighty monks. Fully absolved, he spent the whole night on the bare ground of the crypt in tears and prayers, imploring the forgiveness of the canonized saint in heaven whom he had persecuted on earth.

No deeper humiliation of king before priest is recorded in history. It throws into the shade the submission of Theodosius to Ambrose, of Edgar to Dunstan, of Barbarossa to Alexander, and even the scene at Canossa.

Pilgrimages to the Shrine of St. Thomas.

Fifty years after the martyrdom, Becket's relics were translated with extraordinary solemnity from the tomb in the crypt to the costly shrine of Becket, which blazed with gold and jewels, in the reconstructed Canterbury cathedral (1220). And now began on the largest scale that long succession of pilgrimages which for more than three hundred years made Canterbury the greatest sacred resort of Western Christendom, next to Jerusalem and Rome. It was more frequented than Loreto in Italy and Einsiedeln in Switzerland. No less than a hundred thousand pilgrims were registered at Canterbury in 1420. From all parts of England, Scotland, Wales, and Ireland, from France and the far north, men and women flocked to the shrine: priests, monks, princes, knights, schol-

ars, lawyers, merchants, mechanics, peasants. There was scarcely an English king, from Henry II. to Henry VIII., who did not from motives of piety or policy pay homage to the memory of the saint. Among the last distinguished visitors were John Colet, dean of St. Paul's, and Erasmus, who visited the shrine together between the years 1511 and 1513, and King Henry VIII. and Emperor Charles V., who attended the last jubilee in 1520. Plenary indulgences were granted to the pilgrims. Some went in December, the month of his martyrdom; a larger number in July, the month of the translation of his relics. Every fiftieth year a jubilee lasting fifteen days was celebrated in his honor. Six such jubilees were celebrated,—1270, 1320, 1370, 1420, 1470, 1520. The offerings to St. Thomas exceeded those given to any other saint, even to the holy Virgin. They amounted in one year to £954 6s. 8d.; while only £4 1s. 8d. were offered to Mary, and nothing to God! Even in the beginning of the sixteenth century the yearly offerings at the shrine averaged between £800 and £1000, which is equivalent to four times the value of our money.

Geoffrey Chaucer, the father of English poetry, who lived two centuries after Becket's martyrdom, has immortalized these pilgrimages in his *Canterbury Tales*, and gives us the best description of English society at that time.

The pilgrimages promoted piety, social intercourse, and also superstition, idleness, levity, and immorality, and aroused moral indignation among many serious and spiritually-minded men.

St. Thomas and Henry VIII.

The superstitious idolatry of St. Thomas was continued down to the time of the Reformation, when it was rudely and forever crushed out. Henry VIII., "Defender of the Faith," cited the spirit of Becket to appear in court within thirty days to answer to the charges of treason, contumacy, and rebellion. As the saint did not appear in person, his case was formally argued at Westminster by the attorney-

general on the part of Henry VIII., and by an advocate on the part of the accused. His guilt was proved, and on the 10th of June, 1538, St. Thomas was condemned as a "rebel and a traitor to his prince"; his bones to be publicly burned and the ashes scattered in the air.¹ The rich shrine of St. Thomas was pillaged; the gold and jewels were carried off in two strong coffer, on the shoulders of seven or eight men; for the removal of the rest of the spoils, twenty-six carts were employed. The jewels went into the hands of Henry VIII., who wore the most precious diamond, the "Regale of France," in the ring of his thumb; afterwards it glittered in the golden "collar" of his daughter, the bigoted Queen Mary. A royal proclamation of Nov. 16, 1538, explained the cause and mode of Becket's death, and gave the reasons for his degradation. All festivals, offices, and prayers in his name were forbidden.²

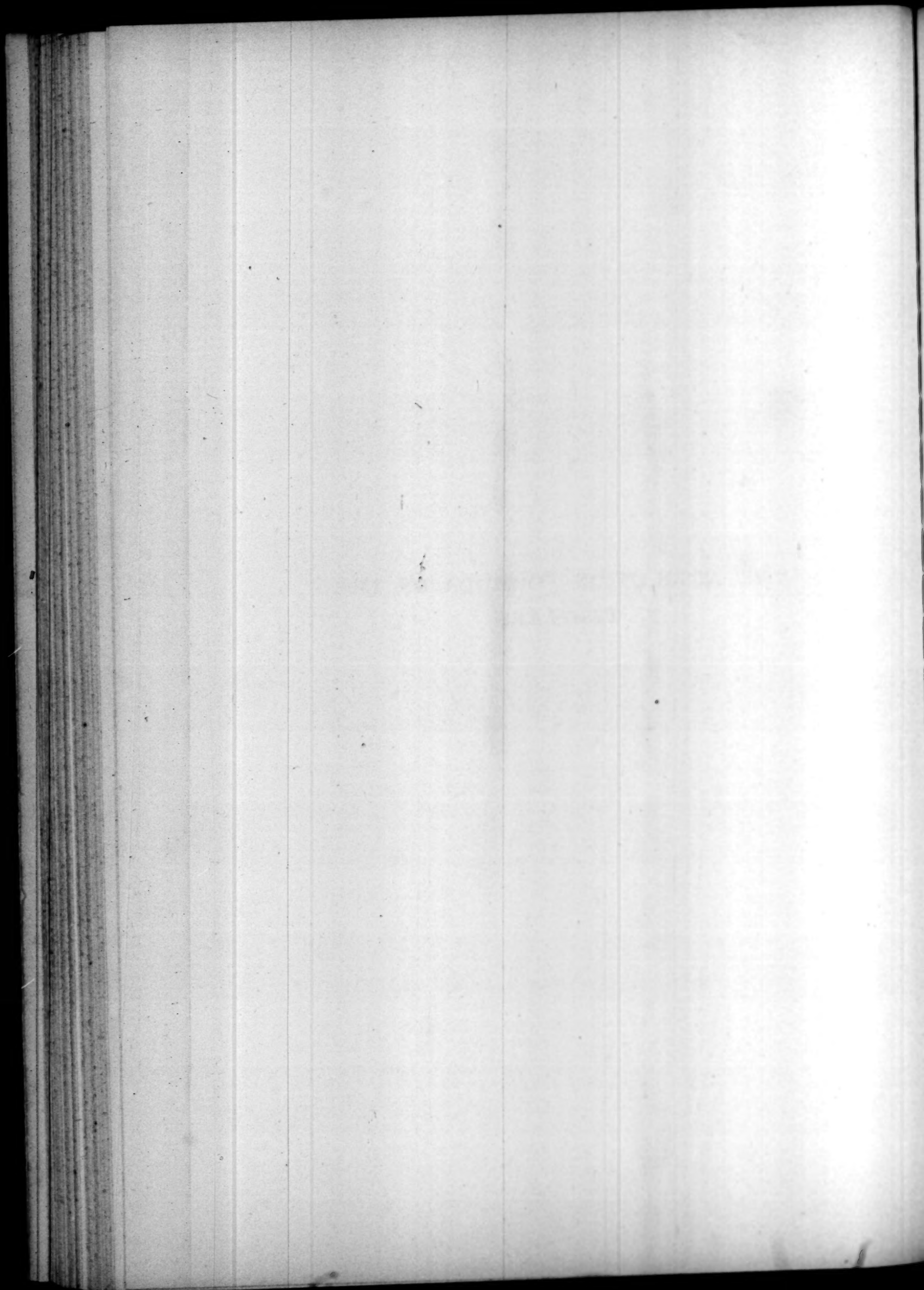
The royal order was rigidly executed. Every statue and picture of St. Thomas was destroyed, and his name erased from the calendar, the missals, and other documents. The site of his shrine has remained vacant to this day.

The Reformation prepared the way for a more spiritual worship of God and a more just appreciation of the virtues and faults of Thomas Becket than was possible in the age in which he lived and died,—a hero and a martyr of the papal hierarchy, but not of pure Christianity.

¹ Some doubt has been thrown by Froude and others on the trial and the burning; but it is intrinsically probable and consistent with the character of Henry VIII. The Council of Constance had committed the same barbarous outrage on the bones of Wiclif in 1415, and Queen Mary dealt in the same way with the remains of Bucer and Fagius at Cambridge in 1554.

² For further information and documents, see Stanley, *The Shrine of Becket* in *Hist. Mem. of Canterbury*, 220-354.

THE ABSOLUTION FORMULA OF THE
TEMPLARS



THE ABSOLUTION FORMULA OF THE TEMPLARS.

BY HENRY CHARLES LEA, LL.D. PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA.

Among the accusations brought against the Templars by Pope Clement V. in 1308, there was one to the effect that the officers of the Order—the Master, the Visitors, and the Preceptors—absolved the brethren from their sins. It is further asserted that de Molay admitted this in the presence of high personages before his arrest.¹ That the accusation was an after-thought is shown by the fact that it is not contained in the preliminary list of charges sent in September, 1307, by the Inquisitor Guillaume de Paris to his subordinates as a guide for them in the expected trials of the Templars.² Yet Clement was not the first to take note of this assumption of sacerdotal prerogatives, which, in fact, was well known to all who busied themselves with canon law, and public attention had already been called to it. In a diatribe on the disorders of the Church, written by a mendicant friar apparently towards the end of the thirteenth century, all the three great Military Orders—the Hospital, the Temple, and the Teutonic Knights—are reproved for this usurpation of the power of the keys, although it is ascribed

¹ As formally expressed in the bull *Faciens misericordiam*, August 12, 1308, the charge is—

“Item quod credebant, et sic dicebatur eis quod magnus magister a peccatis poterit eos absolvere. Item quod visitator. Item quod preceptores quorum multi erant layci.

“Item quod hæc faciebant de facto. Item quod aliqui eorum.

“Item quod magnus magister ordinis predicti hoc fuit de se confessus in presencia magnarum personarum antequam esset captus.”—Michelet *Procès des Templiers*, I. 91. Cf. *Mag. Bullar. Roman.* IX. 129 (Ed. Luxemb.).

² Pissot *Procès et Condamnation des Templiers*, Paris, 1805, p. 39.

rather to ignorance than to wilful intrusion on priestly functions.¹ The truth or the falsity of the accusation has never, I believe, been investigated, and though the question is a subordinate one, yet everything connected with the catastrophe of the Temple possesses interest, and this derives adventitious importance from its relation to the development of Catholic doctrine in the thirteenth century.

To understand it rightly, we must bear in mind that the members of the Military Orders were monks, subject to all the rules and entitled to all the privileges of monachism. To appreciate their relations to the great subject of the sacrament of penitence, we must, therefore, consider what, at the date of their foundation, were the customs of the religious Orders, as well as what were the teachings of the Church with regard to confession and absolution, and we can then estimate how far Clement V. was justified in including this among the charges for which the Order was destroyed.

The Templar Rule was based on the Cistercian, which in turn was a reform of the Benedictine. In the original Rule of Benedict there are no defined regulations on the subject. The sinner is counselled to confess to his abbot or to one of the older monks and to seek his advice, but, of course, there is nothing said as to absolution, which, in its sacramental character, was the creation of the schoolmen of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Public confession in the daily assemblage or chapter was ordered for any external fault committed in the prescribed routine of daily labor²—an exercise which had already, prior to Benedict, become customary in the monachism of the time.³ In the Cistercian reform this

¹ In treating of the three Military Orders the writer says: "Usurpant laici sacerdotum officia, poenitentiam pro excessibus injungentes et eandem pro libito relaxantes, cum non sint eis claves commissæ, nec ligandi et solvendi uti debeant potestate. Remedium, ut magistri domorum mittant fratres literatos ad studendum circa theologicas lectiones, nec circa scientias sæculares, ut habeant literatos priores et sacerdotes."—*Collectio de Scandalis Ecclesiæ* (Döllinger, *Beiträge zur politischen, kirchlichen u. Cultur-geschichte*, III. 196).

² *Regul. S. Benedict.* c. vii. xlv. (Migne's *Patrologia*, LXVI. 373, 694). Cf. *Smaragdi Comment.* (Migne, CII. 885); *Reg. S. Chrodegangi* c. 18; *Jonæ Aurelianens. de Instit. Laicali* Lib. I. c. 16.

³ *S. Eucherii Homil.* viii.

was insisted upon and developed. Every day, after mass, the brethren assembled in chapter. Any one conscious of sin was expected to confess it and ask for pardon. If he did not do so, any one cognizant of it was required to accuse him; he could defend himself, and judgment was pronounced by a majority of those present. If he was condemned to the discipline, he promptly stripped himself to the waist and was scourged till the abbot commanded it to cease, and the proceedings terminated by the prior listening to private confessions of such things as nocturnal illusions for which he granted absolution and penance.¹ In all this there is evidently nothing of the formal sacrament of penitence, and no other form of confession is prescribed. Even on the death-bed the dying monk only said "Confiteor" or "Mea culpa, de omnibus peccatis meis precor vos orate pro me."²

Here we have the prototype of the chapters of the Templars as described in their Rule. Wherever four or more of the brethren were together they were commanded to hold a chapter on the vigils of Christmas, Easter, and Pentecost, and on every Sunday of the year, excepting those of the three feasts. These were religious assemblies: each one on entering crossed himself in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, and recited a Paternoster before taking his seat. The Preceptor or presiding officer preached a sermon, after which every one conscious of sin was expected to confess it. If he did not do so, any one acquainted with it called upon him to confess; if he denied it, witnesses were summoned and the case was debated. The culprit withdrew; the chapter determined what penance to prescribe, and he was recalled. If this was scourging, it was performed on the spot by the presiding officer, but there were many degrees of penance, culminating in expulsion, and a long catalogue of offences is detailed, classified according to the

¹ *Usus antiquiores Ordinis Cisterciensis* c. lxx. lxxv. (Migne, CLXVI. 1443-6).

² *Ibid.*, c. xciv. (p. 1471). By the time of St. Bernard, however, there seems to be a custom springing up of annual confession at Easter.—S. Bernardi *Serm. in Die Pasche* §15 (Migne, CLXXXIII. 281).

penances due to them.¹ In very light cases the chapter sometimes referred the offender to the chaplain who prescribed the penance.² The proceedings of the chapter closed with a prayer by the presiding officer, prior to which he absolved all those present and warned them that those who did not confess their sins had no share in the spiritual merits and benefits of the Order.³ The object for which the chapters were instituted was the confession and penancing of sins⁴; in fact, the chapter was a confessional, and each brother was instructed before entering it to search his conscience and reflect whether he had any transgression to confess and render satisfaction for.⁵

The Rule in the elaborate form in which we have it dates from about the middle of the thirteenth century, and contains certain sacerdotal elements which I will consider hereafter. In its early simplicity, as granted by the council of Troyes in 1127, the whole matter of hearing confessions and imposing penance is entrusted to the Master. There is nothing said as to absolution, but the expressions used show that the performance of the penance imposed by him is expected to obtain salvation for the sinner.⁶ At that time the schoolmen had not fairly commenced their work; nothing was known of penitence as a sacrament, and even the power of the keys was as yet a vague

¹ *La Règle du Temple*, publiée pour la Société de l'Histoire de France, par Henri de Curzon, Paris, 1886, Art. 385-502.

² *Ibid.*, Art. 526.

³ "Car le Maistre ou cil qui tient le chapistre les assols dou pooir que il ait devant que il comence sa proiere."—*Ibid.*, Art. 503, 538.

⁴ "Et sachiés qui nostre chapistre furent etabli por ce que li frere se confessassent de lor fautes et les amendassent."—*Ibid.*, Art. 389.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Art. 394.

⁶ "Si aliquis frater loquendo vel militando vel aliter leve deliquerit, ipse ultro delictum suum satisfaciendo magistro ostendat. De levibus si consuetudinem non habeant, levem poenitentiam habeat. Si vero eo tacente per aliquem alium culpa cognita fuerit, majori et evidentiori subjaceat disciplinæ et emendationi. Si autem grave erit delictum retrahetur a familiaritate fratrum, nec cum illis simul in eadem mensa edat sed solus refectionem sumat. Dispensationi et judicio Magistri totum incumbat, ut salvus in die judicii permaneat."—Harduin. *Concil.* VI. II. 1144.

conception. Naturally, therefore, in this original Rule there are no commands as to confession to priests or the seeking of absolution from them. Whatever power to bind or to loose was exercised in the Order lay in the hands of the Master, and the penalties which he inflicted were not punishment, but penance. The distinction between the *forum internum* and the *forum externum*, between reconciliation to the Church and reconciliation to God, had not as yet been clearly defined by the schoolmen; it was virtually unknown in practice and all offences were on the same plane.

In the completed Rule we can trace these same characteristics. The proceedings in the chapter were not simply to enforce the discipline of the Order, but to save the soul of the sinner.¹ The penitential character of the inflictions is seen in the injunction that the culprit is to endure them cheerfully and willingly—he should feel shame for the sin, but not for the penance²; and when this is scourging, administered on the spot, all those present are enjoined to pray God to pardon him, whereupon the brethren all recite a Paternoster, and if there is a chaplain present he offers a special prayer.³ When the penance is a prolonged one, the chapter must determine when it shall cease, and then before the penitent is introduced all the brethren kneel and pray God to give him grace to preserve him from sin hereafter.⁴ The religious character of the penance is

¹ "Nul frere ne doit reprendre autre frere fors par charité et par entention de faire li sauver s'arme."—*Règle*, Art. 412.

² "Chaucun frere doit bien et volentiers faire la penance que li est enchargée par chapistre."—*Ibid.*, Art. 415.

"Et nul frere ne doit avoir honte de penance en maniere que il l'en laisse a faire; mais chascun doit avoir honte de faire le pechié, et la penance doit chascun faire volenterement."—*Ibid.*, Art. 494.

"Mais bien sachiés que mult est belle chose de faire penance."—*Ibid.*, Art. 533.

When the penance comprised weekly public scourging in church "et doit venir a sa discipline a grant devocion et receore le en patience devant tout le peuple qui sera au mostier."—*Ibid.*, Art. 468-73.

³ "Biau seignors freres, veés ci votre frere qui vient a la discipline, priés notre Seigneur qu'i li pardoint ses defautes."—*Ibid.*, Art. 502.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Art. 520.

still further seen in the regulation that if it is not administered on the spot by the presiding officer, it is subsequently to be inflicted by the chaplain; as sacerdotalism advanced, indeed, some even argued that it ought always to be done by a priest and not by the master or commander.¹

At the time when the Order was organized there was nothing strange in thus entrusting to the master or preceptor the administration of the rites of confession, absolution, and satisfaction. The monk, though not in holy orders, by his vows and his dedication to the service of God, was invested with a quasi-sacerdotal character. Even at the end of the twelfth century we learn from Peter Cantor that in some convents a monk could confess to any of his brethren and accept penance from him, though by this time absolution was becoming recognized as a sacerdotal function and was administered by the abbot, the sacrament being thus split in two.² But even apart from this monastic character laymen had not as yet been excluded from the hearing of confessions. It was not long before the founding of the Order that the Blessed Lanfranc taught that confession of secret sins could be made to any ecclesiastic, from priest to ostiarius, or in their absence to a righteous layman who could cleanse the soul from sin.³ No work of the twelfth century exercised so controlling an influence on the development of the sacramental conception of penitence as the forgery which passed current under the authoritative name of St. Augustin, yet in this it is asserted that in the absence of a priest confession to a layman is equally efficacious⁴—a principle which was adopted by Gratian and Peter Lombard.⁵ In the thirteenth century, even after

¹ *Ibid.*, Art. 523, 525.

² Jo. Morini *de Administr. Sacram. Penitent.* Lib. VIII. c. ix. n. 23.—Martène *de antiq. Ritibus Ecclesiæ* Lib. I. c. vi. Art. 6, n. 5.

This division of the sacrament was not long afterwards forbidden. See Postill. ad § 4, Tit. xxxiv. Lib. III. *Summa* S. Raymundi.

³ B. Lanfranci *Lib. de Celanda Confessione* (Migne, CL. 629-30).

⁴ "Tanta itaque vis confessionis est ut si deest sacerdos confiteatur proximo."—Pseudo-August. *Lib. de vera et falsa Penitentia* c. x.

⁵ Gratiani *Decr.* c. I. Caus. XXXIII. Q. iii. Dist. 6.—P. Lombard. *Sentenit.* Lib. IV. Dist. xvii. § 5.

the Lateran canon which prescribed annual confession to the parish priest, the stories related by Cæsarius of Heisterbach to allure the people to the confessional show that the prevailing conception still was that the virtue of confession lay in the act, irrespective of the character of the person to whom it was made.¹ If by this time the theologians refused to go thus far they at least still admitted the validity of confession to laymen in case of necessity,² of which we have an example in the narrative of the Sire de Joinville, who relates how he heard the confession of Gui d'Ebelin, Constable of Cyprus, and granted him absolution, when both were expecting instant death from the Moslem.³ As the sacramental theory became perfected, Aquinas explained that in such cases God supplies the place of the priest; the absolution of the layman is quasi-sacramental; it secures pardon from God, and the penitent is thus absolved in the *forum internum*, but he is as yet unreconciled to the Church and should therefore, when opportunity offers, confess again to a priest and obtain the full sacrament of penitence.⁴ Nor is the lack of a priest confined to such desperate occasions as that related by Joinville; if a man knows his parish priest to be unfit and cannot obtain his license to confess to another he is released from the obligation to employ a priest and can lawfully confess to a layman.⁵ It is quite probable that the discussion of the matter provoked by the Templar trials led to a change in the attitude of the Church. Astesanus de Asti, writing in 1317, examines the subject with a minuteness which shows that it had been attracting fresh attention. While he quotes the authorities in its favor, he concludes that

¹ Cæsar. Heisterb. *Dial.* Dist. III. c. 2, 21.

² S. Raymundi *Summa* Lib. III. Tit. XXXIV. § 4. — Gloss. *sup.* *Decr.* Caus. XXXIII. Q. iii. Dist. 5.

³ "En couste de moy se'agenoilla Messire Guy d'Ebelin, Connestable de Chippre; et se confessa a moy; et je luy donnay telle absolucion comme Dieu m'en donnait le povoir."—*Mémoires du Sire de Joinville*, Ed. 1785, T. II. p. 20.

⁴ T. Aquinat. *Summa* Suppl. Q. VIII. Art. 2; cf. Hostiens. *Aurea Summa* Lib. V. *De Pæn. et Remiss.* § 7.

⁵ Aquinat. *Summa* Suppl. Q. VIII. Art. 4.

such confession is in no way sacramental and does not obtain absolution.¹ Still the question would not settle itself, for the more the Church inculcated the necessity of the sacrament of penitence for salvation, the more the faithful sought for it in whatever form it could be obtained. Early in the fifteenth century Prierias returned to the opinion of Aquinas, and even held that a layman could absolve from excommunication on the death-bed.² It was in vain that the council of Trent in 1551 defined absolutely that no one except bishops and priests had power to hear sacramental confession and grant absolution.³ Not long afterwards Azpilcueta argues that it is not a sin—at least a mortal sin—to believe, as many do, that any layman can hear confessions and grant absolution to the dying.⁴ In the seventeenth century, however, Diana condemns the practice as utterly useless, though he admits that it is common among sailors in fear of shipwreck.⁵

Another point indispensable to a clear appreciation of the functions of the master or preceptor of the chapter of the Templars is the nature of the absolution granted to sinners in the twelfth century. The power of the keys had not at that time been defined with precision, and much debate in the schools was still requisite before a practical working theory could be evolved and accepted. It would lead me too far from our subject to enter into the details of these forgotten wrangles and it will suffice for our present purposes to state that as yet the priest was held to have scarce more than an intercessory power with God. His intercession was more efficacious than that of a layman, but although the rapid development of sacerdotalism was constantly tending to confer on him augmented power, he as yet did not pretend of himself to grant absolution. Fathers Morin and Martène

¹ Astesani *Summæ de Casibus* Lib. v. Tit. xiii. Q. 2. "Unde male sensit Ber. extra de offi. ord. pastoralis dicens quod laicus absolvere potest in necessitate et hoc non tantum a peccatis sed etiam ab excommunicatione."

² *Summa Sylvestrina s. v. Confessor* 1. §§ 1, 6.

³ C. Trident. Sess. xiv. *De Penit.* c. 6.

⁴ Azpilcuetae *Comment. in VII. Distinct. de Penit.* Dist. vi. c. i., n. 81, 83.

⁵ *Summa Diana, s. vv. Confessarius* n. 2, *Confessionis necessitas* n. 13, 14.

have abundantly shown that prior to the thirteenth century the formulas of absolution were universally deprecatory, or at most of a transitional character, in which the priest speaks in doubtful terms as to his own powers.¹ To the Church of the twelfth century, therefore, there was nothing offensive or shocking in a man clothed with the quasi-sacerdotal character of a monk offering the prayer and granting the conditional absolution which were customary at the period.² It was not until about 1240 that the absolute indicative form, *Ego te absolvo*, was introduced, giving rise to so much objection and animadversion that some thirty years afterwards Aquinas was required by the Dominican General to write an elaborate defence of it, in which he tells us that the University of Paris had decided that

¹ Even as late as the eleventh century the *Corrector Burchardi* knows nothing of absolution. The most that the priest can do is to offer a prayer, such as: "Deus omnipotens sit adjutor et protector tuus et præstet indulgentiam de peccatis tuis præteritis, præsentibus et futuris."—Wasserschleben, *Bussordnungen*, p. 667.

In a typical later transitional formula, the priest assumes somewhat more power, but is careful not to define its extent. "Ipse te absolvat ab omnibus peccatis et de istis peccatis quæ modo mihi coram Deo confessus es . . . cum ista poenitentia quam modo accepisti sis absolutus a Deo Patre et Filio et Spiritu sancto et ab omnibus sanctis ejus et a me misero peccatore, ut dimittat tibi Dominus omnia delicta tua et perducatur te Christus ad vitam æternam . . . absolvat te sanctus Petrus et beatus Michael archangelus et nos, in quantum data est nobis potestas ligandi et solvendi, absolutionem damus. adjuvante Domino nostro Jesu Christo."—Garofali, *Ordo ad dandam Pœnitentiam ex insigni Rituali Codice membranaceo XI. Sæculi Bibl. Canonorum Reg. S. Salvatoris Bononia*, Romæ, 1791, p. 15.

It will be seen how closely this compares with the essential part of the Templar absolution.

² The formula of absolution as set forth in the *Règle* is: "Mais cil qui se confessent bien de lor defautes et ne laissent à dire ne à confesser lor failles por honte de la char ne por paor de la justise de la maison, et qui sont bien repentant des choses que il ont mau faites, cil prennent bone partie au pardon de nostre chapistre et as autres biens qui se font en nostre maison; et a ceaus fais-je autel pardon come je puis de par Dieu et de par nostre Dame et de par monseignor saint Pierre et mon seignor saint Pol apostres et de par nostre pere l'apostoille, et de par vos meismes qui m'avés doné le pooir; et prie a Dieu que il por sa misericorde et por l'amor de la soe doce mere et por les merites de lui et de tous les sains vos deet pardonner vos fautes ensi come il pardona a la gloriose sainte Marie Magdalaine."—*Règle*, Art. 539.

without these words there was no absolution.¹ Various formulas, however, continued to be used and towards the close of the century Duns Scotus argues that while *Ego te absolvo* is well fitted for its purpose, the priest should not be restricted in his form of expression, which is indifferent so long as the purport is conveyed.² It was not till 1439, at the council of Florence, in the Decree of Union with the Armenians, that the Church formally adopted this formula,³ and the council of Trent, in 1551, pronounced it to be the sole essential part of the sacrament and that all else is unnecessary.⁴

Evidently the error of the Templars consisted in not moving with the world, in not adapting themselves properly to the development of the sacramental theory in the Church, and in this they were pardonable, seeing that they were ostensibly warriors and not theologians or canon lawyers. For a long while, indeed, after the foundation of the Order the delimitation of sacerdotal functions was still vague and undefined. John of Salisbury, who died in 1180, complains of monks in general that they sought to obtain a share in the harvest created by the constantly enlarging power of the keys and did not hesitate to hear confessions and exercise a stolen authority to bind and to loose.⁵ As for the Templars, it was doubtless because their sacerdotal functions were confined to their own members, that he finds no fault with them for this, though his indignation is excited by their increasing patronage of church livings, through which indirectly they furnished sacraments to the faithful.⁶ That the Templar custom of capitular absolu-

¹ S. Th. Aquinat. *Opusc.* XXII. c. 2.

² Jo. Scotus *super Libb. Sententi.* (Ed. Venet. c. 1470, fol. 285 a).

³ Decr. Union. in C. Florent. ann. 1439 (Harduin. *Concil.* IX. 440).

⁴ C. Trident. Sess. xiv. *De Pœnitent.* c. 3.

⁵ "Confessiones excipiunt et claves Ecclesiæ usurpantes aut subripientes Petro ligare præsumunt et solvere, et, Domino prohibente, falcem mittunt in messem alienam."—J. Saresburiens. *Polycrat.* VII. xxi.

⁶ "Milites namque Templi sui [papæ] favore ecclesiarum dispositionem vindicant, occupant personatus et quodammodo sanguinem Christi fidelibus ministrare præsumunt quorum fere professio est humanam sanguinem fundere."—*Ibid.*

tion was well known to the Holy See, through both the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and that it had full papal approval, is easily demonstrated. When in 1199 Innocent III. approved the founding of the Teutonic Order, he instructed it to follow the Johannite Rule as to hospitals and the care of the sick, and the Templar Rule as to the knights and priests. In 1209 he confirmed the Teutonic *consuetudines*, and they are repeatedly alluded to in bulls of Honorius III. In 1244 Alexander IV. authorized a revision of the Rule, so that in the shape in which it has reached us it cannot be earlier than the middle of the thirteenth century, while the age of the various MS. copies shows that it remained unaltered during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.¹ Max Perlbach's careful labors have recently rendered it accessible to scholars in its various versions, and its intimate dependence on the Templar Rule renders it an undoubted authority on the question before us. We find in it the same provisions for weekly chapters which are religious assemblages where the sins of the brethren are confessed or denounced. There is the same elaborate classification of offences with their appropriate penances, and this penance, which is administered by the chapter, is not only valid in the *forum externum*, but is sacramental, inasmuch as its performance releases the sinner from the pains of purgatory.² From this it follows that the absolution administered by the Master, after the performance of the penance, or in his absence by a preceptor, was likewise sacramental absolution, and not merely readmission to the

¹ Perlbach, *Die Statuten des deutschen Ordens*, pp. XLIV., XLVI., LI., LII., LIX. (Halle a. S., 1890).

² *Fratrum Teutonicor. Institt.* c. 33 (Perlbach, p. 77): "Statuimus ut culpe, licet leves videantur, occulte quidem per confessionem expientur, manifeste vero in capitulo proclamate, competentem accipiant satisfactionem . . . ut sic religionem pro purgatorio habentes in capituli judicio cremabilia ignis purgatorii abstergant, et in morte demon quid eis obiciat non valeat invenire." Or, as more clearly expressed in the French version, "et que ils espurgent en jugement dou chapistre les choses qui devraient estres brulees en purgatoire."

See also the Rule cap. 36 (p. 55), providing in general terms for the prescription of penance by the chapter "ut salvus in die judicii permaneat."

society and privileges and duties of the brethren.¹ In estimating the force of these provisions we must bear in mind that they were not the work of rude and ignorant knights, but that all the rules and statutes of the Order required the approval of the Holy See.

If further confirmation of all this were needed, it is to be found in the gradual change of theory as to the sacramental character of the proceedings in monastic chapters, as the doctrine of the sacrament of penitence and power of the keys was elaborated. To the good Cistercian, Cæsarius of Heisterbach, the monastic chapter covered the whole field of the *forum internum* as well as *externum*.² By the time of Aquinas there had arisen doubts as to the principle involved, though the fact was still admitted in practice—the chapter was a judicial more than a penitential forum; it could be held by one who was not a priest, but the absolution granted in it was good in the forum of penitence.³ This covers completely the Templar case, and even in 1317, after the destruction of the Order, it was still quoted as good canon law by Astesanus⁴; but subsequent theologians had no difficulty in declaring that chapters were wholly unsacramental, and even cited Aquinas to this effect.⁵ In addition to this I may observe that the special question as to the power of the masters and preceptors of the Military Orders to grant valid absolution was debated at least as early as the time of St. Ramon de Peñafort (c. 1235), who

¹ "Quando frater aliquis a magistro vel ejus vicemgerente penitenciam suscepit non possunt eum preceptor, marschalchus vel alius inferior absolvere sine licentia magistri si fuerit tam vicinus ut adiri valeat de hoc negocio consulendus. At si magister ad remota loca recederet, fratrisque penitencia bene peracta, non possit haberi, licebit preceptori cum aliis fratribus in capitulo congregatis sepepredictam penitentiam relaxare."—*Ibid.*, c. 3 (p. 64).

² Cæsar. Heisterb. *Dial. Dist.* III. c. 49.

³ "Quia in capitulo agitur quasi forum judiciale magis quam pœnitentiale, unde etiam non sacerdotes capitulum tenent, sed absolvetur a pœna injuncta vel debita pro peccato in foro pœnitentiali."—Aquinas. *Summ. Supplem. Q.* xxvii. Art. 2 ad 2.

⁴ Astesani *Summ. de Casibus*. Lib. v. Tit. xl. Art. 5, Q. 2.

⁵ Caietani *Opusc. Tract.* xvi. c. 2.—*Summa Sylvestrina*, s. v. *Indulgentia* § 21.

replies to it hesitatingly; he does not think that a layman can absolve unless he has special delegated powers from the Holy See—and we have seen from the Templar formula that the pope was included among those in whose behalf the absolution was given. No adverse decision was rendered against the practice, for this state of doubt in the minds of theologians seems to have continued until the downfall of the Order, since John of Freiburg quotes Ramon without adducing any later authority or adding any opinion of his own.¹

From all this it is fairly deducible that if the Templars had persevered to the last in their original custom of confessing exclusively in the chapter and receiving absolution only from the presiding officer, the Church would have had no real ground of complaint against them. They did not do this, however, for to their early simple forms they super-added regular sacramental confession and absolution when that had grown to be the rule of the Church. At first they had no special chaplains of their own; in the earliest Rule their religious needs of communion, masses for the dead, etc., are directed to be supplied by priests whom they might engage for stated periods, and who were paid by whatever oblations or alms might be given to them.² In 1163, how-

¹ "Quis possit absolvere Templarios, Hospitalarios et alios religiosos non habentes prælatum sacerdotem? Respondeo secundum Raym. § xviii. *Item quod Templarii.* Credo quod non possint absolvi a talibus prelatis cum non habeant ordinem clericalem nisi habeant hoc de speciali privilegio sedis apostolicæ."—Joh. Friburgens. *Summæ Confessorum* Lib. III. Tit. xxxiii. Q. 47.

John of Freiburg adds that the question had settled itself as to the Hospitalers by requiring their priors to be in priest's orders: "Hodie autem expressum est de fratribus Hospitalis Jerosolymitani quod possunt a suis prioribus, qui presbyteri debent esse, absolvi sicut regulares alii a suis prælatis."

If we may believe the confession of Bertrand de Villiers, Preceptor of Roche St. Pol, March 29, 1311, the question as to the validity of the absolution granted in the chapters had begun to be discussed in the Order itself.—Michelet, *Procès des Templiers*, II. 124.

² *Regulæ* Art. iii. iv. (Harduin. VI. II. 1134): "capellanis ac clericis vobiscum ad terminum caritative summo sacerdoti servientibus." The retention of this in the completed Rule (Art. 62, 64) shows how the latter is an accretion and accumulation of statutes. The interpolations not infrequently conflict with the original text, rendering it difficult to determine what was the precise usage at the time of compilation.

ever, Alexander III., by the bull *Omne datum optimum*, granted to them the right to receive into the Order clerics and priests, so that they might more conveniently enjoy the sacraments and divine offices.¹ It is a convincing evidence of the quasi sacerdotal character of the Order that the priests thus admitted into it were entitled within it to none of the immunities and exemptions for which the Church was then so earnestly battling with the secular power. It was in 1170 that Thomas Becket fell a martyr to the unflinching resolution of Rome to enforce its claim of the exemption of all ecclesiastics from secular jurisdiction, yet the Templar priests, by the terms of the bull, were held in strict subjection to the laymen who ruled the Order. On admission they were to place on the altar a writing in which they promised implicit obedience—"seque militaturos Domino diebus vitæ suæ sub obedientia Magistri Templi"—they could be dismissed at pleasure, and, what is especially significant, they were not to take any part in the chapters beyond what might be enjoined on them, nor to take any care of the souls of the brethren unless called upon to do so.² This subordina-

¹ "Ut autem ad plenitudinem salutis et curam animarum vestrarum nichil vobis desit et ecclesiastica sacramenta et divina officia vestro sacro collegio commodius exhibeantur." At the same time he took care to provide that they should not be restricted to their own chaplains in the emergencies of their warlike lives, when at any moment they might need the consolations of religion. "Decernimus insuper auctoritate apostolica ut ad quemcunque locum vos venire contigerit, ab honestis atque catholicis sacerdotibus pœnitentiam, unctiones seu alia quælibet sacramenta ecclesiastica vobis suscipere liceat, ne forte ad perceptionem spiritualium bonorum vobis quippiam deesse valeat." In this the word "catholicis" suggests that the object of the clause was inferentially to interdict the ministrations of Greek priests, who doubtless in Palestine were often more accessible than Catholic ones.

Professor Prutz, in his admirable *Entwicklung und Untergang des Tempelherrenordens*, gives the date of this bull (pp. v. and 33) as 18 June, 1163, and p. 260 as Tours, 7 January, 1162. This latter can scarce be correct, as Alexander at that time was travelling through Italy on his way to France (Jaffé, *Regesta*, p. 684). Rymer (*Fœdera*, I. 30. 54) gives two copies of it, one issued in 1172 by Alexander to the Grand Master Eudes de S. Amand, and the other by Lucius III. in 1181 to Amand de Torroge. The latter of these Jaffé dates April 28, 1183.

² "Sed nec ipsis liceat de capitulo aut cura domus vestræ se temere intromittere nisi quantum a vobis fuerit injunctum. Curam quoque animarum tantum habeant quantum a vobis fuerint requisiti."—Bull. *Omne datum optimum*.

tion was strictly construed and enforced. The priest was subject to the jurisdiction of the chapter and was punished like other brethren. He could even be placed in irons or in perpetual prison.¹ One single privilege was allowed him. Among the heavier penances was that of being degraded for a longer or shorter period, usually for a year and a day, during which time the offender was deprived of intercourse with his fellows, he ate on the ground, and performed the vilest services with the slaves, such as leading asses, scullion's work, etc., with the addition in certain cases of a weekly scourging in church on Sundays.² In such penance, for the honor of the cloth, a priestly penitent was spared labor with the slaves, in lieu of which he was required to recite his psalter.³ A further tribute to his position was that at table he was placed next to the master and that both he and the master had special cups.⁴

The Order being thus provided with priests of its own, when the necessity of sacramental confession and absolution became more strongly urged by the Church and was prescribed by the Lateran decree of 1216, the practice of the Templars became complicated with a curious and illogical admixture of the old system and the new. The new was superadded to the old, without much care to reconcile their incompatibility, and the result, as recorded in the contradictory prescriptions of the later Rule is not easy to analyze and define with accuracy. Probably this may in part be attributed to a deficiency in the number of priests admitted to the Order, together with the minute subdivision of its members scattered among its numerous and widely separated possessions throughout Europe and Syria. The proportion

¹ *Règle*, Art. 271. In the Teutonic Order there was some limitation on the punishment to be inflicted by the chapter on clerics, but enough was permitted to destroy the principle of clerical immunity.—*Fratrum Teuton. Institt.* 40, 44 (Perlbach, pp. 87-9).

² *Règle*, Art. 468-73, 493, 495.—Segregation and eating on the ground were customary features of monastic penance. See *Statuta Ordinis Cisterciens.* ann. 1186, c. 6 (Martène, *Thesaur. Anecd.* IV. 1260); Gousset, *Actes de la Province ecclésiastique de Reims*, II. 345-8.

³ *Règle*, Art. 270.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Art. 188.

of priests among the Templars whose confessions have reached us is exceedingly small. Out of sixty members arrested at Beaucaire in 1307 but one was a priest; of thirty-three imprisoned in the Chateau d'Alais in June, 1310, there was but one priest.¹ The leaders of the Order seem to have desired to limit the number of unproductive members who could neither work nor fight, and possibly there was a jealousy of allowing undue sacerdotal influence. For a lay member to take holy orders was classed with the gravest offences and was visited with the heaviest punishment, that of expulsion.² When it is remembered that the holding of weekly chapters was required in all places where four members could assemble, it is evident that in most of them no priest of their own could be present, and that confession and absolution must be performed according to the original Rule, unless the temporary services of some neighboring chaplain could be secured. This doubtless explains some of the apparent discrepancies of the later Rule, and in fact it is provided for in one article, showing that the presence of the chaplain was in no sense indispensable.³

Some confusion, moreover, has arisen as to the functions of the chaplain in the chapters from the double meaning of the word "confession," which signifies either a formal ritualistic general confession of a vague and comprehensive character, or a special sacramental confession of sins actually committed. After the introduction of priests into the Order, when they were present in chapters, the services were assimilated to the regular church ritual by the chaplain causing all present to recite after him this general confession, after which he granted them the customary general absolution⁴—an absolution which was held by the theo-

¹ Vaissette, *Hist. de Languedoc*, IV. 141.

² *Règle*, Art. 450. Thus the Templars had not the resource of the Hospitallers, whose priors were required to be in priests' orders.

³ *Ibid.*, Art. 542: "Mais se le frere chapelain n'i estoit chascun frere doit dire après la prière une patre nostre et le salut de nostre Dame une fois."

⁴ The prescriptions of the Rule are well calculated to lead astray any one who does not bear in mind the distinction between general and auricular con-

logians to secure pardon for venial and forgotten sins.¹ There was no sacramental confession to the chaplain in the chapters, but gradually the custom of auricular confession to priests virtually supplanted the original capitular confession and penance. It is easy to understand why this change should occur, for not only was it in conformity with the general tendency of the Church and its prescriptions, but it was in every way attractive to the sinner. The confession of derelictions in the chapter was of itself a humiliation hard to endure, and yet harder were the penances provided

fession. Thus Art. 504 says: "Et après la proiere de celui qui a tenu le chapistre, chascun frere doit dire sa confession, et li frere chapelains, après que li frere ont dite lor confession doit faire l'asolution autele come bien li semblera." Art. 542 is even more misleading. The chaplain addresses the brethren: "Biaus seignors freres dites vos confessions après moi . . . et quant tuit auront dit lor confession, li frere chapelain doit dire l'asolution et assoudre tous les freres ensi come li semblera que bon soit, et ensi come il est acostumé a nostre maison. Quar sachiés que li frere chapelain a grant pooir de par nostre pere li pape de assoudre les freres toutes fois selon la qualité et la quantité de la faute." This has every appearance of sacramental confession and absolution, except that the ceremony was performed in common in the assemblage which was never authorized with the sacrament, except in extreme necessity, such as battle or shipwreck; to do so otherwise was a mortal sin (Angeli de Clavasio *Summa Angelica* s. v. *Confessio* I. § 29). Moreover, Templars could confess sacramentally only to their own priests, while they had no hesitation in inviting Franciscans, Dominicans, and Carmelites to officiate in their chapters.—*Processus Cypricus* (Schottmüller, II. 317).

What really was the ceremony in the chapters is clearly described in the confession of Giraud de Caux, Jan. II, 1311. After the final prayer of the preceptor all knelt "et frater presbyter dicebat eis: Dicatis ista verba quæ ego dicam: Confiteor omnipotenti Deo etc. sicut confessio generaliter fit in ecclesia; et ipsi in secreto dicebant et faciebant dictam confessionem, tundendo pectora sua; et facta confessione dictus presbyter, secundum quod fit in ecclesia, dicebat: Misereatur vestri etc. et absolucionem et remissionem omnium peccatorum vestrorum tribuat vobis omnipotens et misericors Deus, et recedebant" (Michelet, *Procès*, I. 390-1). See also the confessions of Raoul Gisi and Gui Dauphin (*ibid.*, pp. 398, 419).

I have dwelt on this point because Professor Prutz has confounded this general confession with sacramental confession, leading him to state that the Templars confessed to the priest in the chapters (*Entwicklung und Untergang*, etc., pp. 47-8). In his subsequent remarks on the faculties of the Templar priests he has been somewhat misled through lack of familiarity with the rather intricate canon law respecting reserved cases.

¹ Hostiensis *Auræ Summa* Lib. v. *De Pæn. et Remiss.* § 8.

in the Rule for offences of every grade. Almost the least of these was scourging on the spot, and Raoul Gisi tells us that many brethren concealed their sins rather than submit to the shame of being stripped to the waist and undergoing the flagellation.¹ On the other hand, confession to the priest was secret; by this time the old penitential canons were obsolete, and the confessor had arbitrary discretion to impose as little penance as he saw fit. Besides, the penitent had to be consulted about it, for the essence of sacramental penance was its voluntary character, and if he thought that what was suggested to him was too hard to bear, he could refuse to accept it; he could elect to make good the deficiency in purgatory, and it became a commonplace among the doctors that the confessor should grant absolution if he could induce the sinner to say a single Paternoster by way of penance.² As zeal diminished in the Order and demoralization grew, the habit of capitular confession seems to have been wellnigh abandoned, and the formula of absolution by the preceptor was altered to a pardon for the sins which the brethren concealed through shame or fear of penance.³ This deplorable laxity did not suit the older and more rigid members of the Order. We hear of Giraud de Villiers, Visitor of France, about the year 1300, reproving the priest, Jean de Calmota, for the ease with which he and the other Templar priests absolved its guilty members. The privileges of the Order, he said, were such that the pre-

¹ Michelet, *Procès*, I. 398.

² S. Raymundi *Summa* Lib. III. Tit. xxxiv. § 4.—Hostiensis *Aurea Summa* Lib. v. *De Pen. et Remiss.* § 58.—Bonaventuræ *Confessionale* cap. IV. Partic. iii.—Synodus Nemausensis ann. 1284 (Harduin. VII. 910-11).—Caietani *Opusc. Tract. v. De Confessione* Q. 3.—Zerola, *Praxis Sac. Penitent.* c. xxv. Q. 9, 36).

Alexander Hales, however (*Summa* P. IV. Q. xviii., Membr. 2, Art. 1), argues against the current theory that the penitent can elect between accepting adequate penance and taking his chances in purgatory.

³ "Attamen de omnibus illis que obmitteretis nobis dicere ob verecundiam carnis vel ob metum justicie ordinis, nos facimus vobis indulgenciam quam possimus et debemus."—Confession of Giraud de Caux (Michelet, *Procès*, I. 390). See also those of Raoul Gisi (*ibid.*, p. 398), of Renaud de Tremblaye (p. 425), of Pierre de Blois (p. 517), and of Guillem de Masayas (II., 126).

ceptors could absolve the brethren in the chapters, and if that custom had been preserved, they would be more cautious in stealing the property of the Order and committing other wickedness, but now the priests absolved them for gain and shared with them the goods pilfered from the Temple.¹

Thus practically the distinction was established between the *forum internum* and *externum*, and the control of the latter passed virtually into the hands of the priests. Under the new system the brethren were required to confess exclusively to the chaplains of the Order.² This was essential, for many of the offences to be confessed were necessarily violations of the Rule, which would not be appreciable by other priests, and the revelation of which would be an infraction of the inviolable secrecy enjoined on all brethren of the Temple. Three confessions a year were prescribed, and these presumably were coincident with the three communions required—at Christmas, Easter, and Pentecost.³

There is an evident contradiction in the Rule in regard to the special faculties of the chaplains, which seems only explicable by incongruous interpolations of customs varying at different periods. One passage boasts that they have greater power to absolve than that possessed by an archbishop.⁴ This would seem to refer to a privilege granted by Honorius III. in 1223. Violence offered to a cleric or monk had been made a papal reserved case by Innocent II. at the council of Lateran in 1139—that is, absolution for the excommunication incurred by it was reserved to the Holy See—and this had been carried into the canon law.⁵ In the frequent bickerings between inmates of the

¹ Confession of Robert le Brioy (*ibid.*, I. 448).

² "Les freres chapelains doivent oyr les confessions des freres ; ne nul frere se doit confesser a autre part fors que a lui, par que il puisse avoir le frere chapelain sans congie."—*Règle*, Art. 269, *cf.* Art. 354. This was also the rule in the Teutonic Order.—*Fratrum Teutonicor. Institt.* c. III., XXI. (Perlbach, pp. 63, 72).

³ Confession of Raoul Gisi (Michelet, *Procès*, I. 398); of Ramon Sa Guardia (*ibid.*, II. 458).

⁴ "Car il en ont greignor pooir de l'apostoile d'eaus assoudre que un arceveque."—*Règle*, Art. 269.

Gratian. *Deer.* c. 29 Caus. XVII. Q. iv.

same monastery this had been found to lead to much unprofitable wandering to Rome of those who should be strictly confined to their religious duties, and an exception had been made by which abbots were empowered to absolve for such cases occurring between their monks. The Templars asked to have this privilege extended to them, and Honorius granted that the chaplain of the principal house in each province should have this power—a faculty which in 1265 was extended for ten years by Clement IV. to all the chaplains of the Order.¹ In this limited sense the chaplains had greater power than bishops or archbishops, but even this is contradicted by a subsequent article of the Rule which asserts that a chaplain cannot absolve a brother for the homicide of a Christian, for striking a brother and drawing blood, for violence to an ecclesiastic, and for entering the Order by simony or by denying the possession of holy orders—for all these the culprit must go for absolution to the bishop, archbishop or patriarch of the country.² Apparently the temporary privilege granted by Clement IV. was not renewed, and this is confirmed by the statement of John of Freiburg, that if a Templar of one diocese strikes a Templar of another, the two bishops must meet together to absolve him, or one must delegate his power to the other.³ In practice it would seem, however, that the chaplain had no hesitation in exerting the powers granted by the bull of Honorius III., for the Rule recites a precedent in point which likewise shows that the distinction between the *forum pœnitentiæ* and the *forum judiciale* had become fully recognized. When the *convent* was at Jaffa, two of the brethren quarrelled and one threw the other from his horse. The Marshal, Hugo de Monllo, assembled a chapter; the culprit begged for pardon, and was sent out of the chapter with the chaplain who absolved him “quar il avoit bien le pooir.” Then they returned to the chapter where the chaplain reported the absolution. The penitent was made to beg for pardon again, and was sent out

¹ Prutz, *Entwicklung*, etc., pp. 282, 289.

² *Règle*, Art. 272-3.

³ Joh. Friburgens. *Summa Confessorum* Lib. III. Tit. xxxiii. Q. 47.

again, and finally the sentence was to deprive him of the vestments of the Order and imprison him in chains, and he was duly sent to Château-Pelerin.¹ Another case would seem to show that the chaplains even presumed to absolve for violence to clerics in general, in spite of the Lateran canon. When brother Hermant was "comandour de la boverie" at Acre, two clerics robbed the dove-cote; he warned them to desist, but they persisted; he set a watch, caught them in the act, and had them beaten soundly, one being wounded in the head. For this violation of clerical immunity they appealed to the papal legate, and the legate complained to the Master. He at once had the assailants absolved and then made them beg pardon in the chapter, which condemned them to lose the vestments and be sent in irons to Cyprus "por ce que la bateure estoit trop laide."²

From all this it would appear that the accusation in the bull *Faciens misericordiam* was true of the Temple during the first century of its existence, and that, relying upon its privileges and the papal favor, it was less prompt than other monastic bodies in modifying its primitive customs to suit the progressive changes in the doctrine and practice of the Church. Towards the close of its career, with increasing corruption, the laxity of the sacramental confessional was found greatly more attractive than the rigor of the Rule as enforced in the chapters, and peccant brethren no longer confessed their sins to their associates, but discharged their consciences in the three auricular confessions yearly which had become a matter of prescription. Complaints and accusations were still made in the chapters, and when they could be proved they were punished according to the Rule, but this was the *forum externum* and not as of old the *forum internum*. Then the formula of absolution granted by the Master underwent a fundamental alteration: in place of being an absolution for sins confessed, it became a pardon for

¹ *Ibid.*, Art. 593.

² *Règle*, Art. 591.

sins not confessed. Such a pardon could be in no sense sacramental; it only affected the relations between the culprit and the Order, and not between him and God. What may have been the admissions which Clement V. states that de Molay made prior to his arrest we have no means of knowing, but we may conjecture that he asserted the original power of absolution as expressed in the Rule, and that it might be employed, at least in preceptories where there were no chaplains. It is impossible that the curia could be ignorant of the practice of the Templars and of the Teutonic Knights, which we have seen was the subject of discussion among canonists, and the embodiment of the charge as we see it in the bull *Faciens misericordiam* betrays a consciousness of the flimsiness of the graver accusations in the eagerness with which one was brought forward based upon theological subtleties that at the time were still under debate by the schoolmen.

THE SERVICES OF THE MATHERS IN
NEW ENGLAND RELIGIOUS
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THE SERVICES OF THE MATHERS IN NEW ENGLAND RELIGIOUS DEVELOPMENT.

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It is a fact of general observation that hereditary talent is rare. The history of our country, whether in the ecclesiastical or secular field, shows but few instances in which prominent service has been rendered by three generations of the same lineage. There have been, indeed, conspicuous exceptions to this wellnigh universal rule. The Winthrops and the Adamses of Massachusetts, for instance, or the Edwardses in the Connecticut valley, have placed their country in debt to their successive generations. But these illustrations are noticeable for their uncommonness. They seem to defy the universal law; and we look upon them with interest because, while they reveal the possibility of an aristocracy of birth and service, they show that the democratic constitution of America accords substantially with the general principles which govern our race in its development.

Such an instance of exceptional ability descending from father to son, which fitted four generations to hold positions of prominence and three generations of the same name to take high rank among the ecclesiastical leaders of their time, is to be found in the story of the Mathers of Massachusetts in the seventeenth and early part of the eighteenth centuries. It would be far beyond the scope of the present paper to essay anything like a full biographical portrait

of these men,¹ which should set forth with adequacy the qualities which made them of service to their time or which exposed them to criticism; or even to give an account of any considerable part of their voluminous writings. The utmost that can be attempted in the brief time allotted to this theme is to point out some of the contributions of Richard, Increase, and Cotton Mather to the development, maintenance, and memory of the peculiar ecclesiastical system of New England. In this work, with much similarity of aim and method, each labored in a different way. The first of the line upon American soil, Richard, may be described as the developer of Congregational polity; to his son Increase belongs the distinction of having defended the ecclesiastical system from political dangers, while his grandson, Cotton, was pre-eminently the historian of the New England Puritans and the preserver of their memorials.

Richard Mather came to America from a Puritan ministry at Toxteth Park, in the neighborhood of Liverpool, in 1635 when about thirty-nine years of age. A man of mature judgment, if he had not been as prominent in the mother-country as Hooker or Cotton, his talents were well known, and led to his speedy settlement (1636) over the newly organized or re-organized² church at Dorchester, where he spent his ministry till his death in 1669. But no single parish could bound his activity, nor was it the welfare of the new settlements on the Massachusetts shore alone that engrossed his thoughts. The emigrants who came from Old England to the New in the second quarter of the seventeenth century had no intention of renouncing their interests in English home-affairs, nor were they considered separated in aim and purpose from those of like faith whom they had left behind.³ They were looked upon by the Puritan party

¹ An article of some value is that by Dr. H. M. Dexter, "The Mather Family, and its Influence," in *Memorial History of Boston*, ii., 297-310.

² Whether a new church was founded at Dorchester, or the older church re-organized, after the departure of Warham and a portion of its membership for Connecticut, is discussed with some suspense of judgment by the editors of the *Records, First Ch., Dorchester*, Boston, 1891, Introduction.

³ Compare, Masson, *Life of Milton*, ii., 584.

in England as an advance-guard, the leaders in the movement for a reformed church, which was the supreme topic of thought in hundreds of English homes. Their working out of the problem of church reformation was watched with great interest and not a little concern by the Puritans of the mother-country. The settlers of Massachusetts Bay, of Connecticut, and New Haven had sailed from English shores as Non-Conformists, not as Separatists. But the churches which they established in the New World were all patterned on that of Separatist Plymouth. Such action naturally excited alarm in the minds of those in England who still hoped for the reformation of the Establishment, especially that large section of the Puritan party who were inclined toward Presbyterianism. As a result of this feeling of anxiety over the New England innovations, two series of questions were sent over the sea by English Puritan ministers in 1636 or 1637¹ making inquiry regarding the whole New England system of church government. The briefer and less important of these series, consisting of nine propositions, was answered by John Davenport of New Haven.² The more important, covering with its thirty-two questions nearly the whole practice of the Congregational churches on this side of the ocean, was replied to by Richard Mather, who, though he was one of the later comers among the ministry of these new churches, came forward as the fullest expounder of their methods.

In this work Mather set forth the New England views as to the constitution, power, and officers of a church; the conditions of membership, the treatment of members of English churches emigrating to America, ministerial standing, voting in matters of church government, lay-preaching,

¹ The title-page of the first edition of the *Answers to the Nine Positions* gives the date of its transmission to America as 1637, but Shepard and Allin in their *Defence of the Answer*, 1645, credit the sending to 1636. The Thirty-two Questions came over about the same time.

² Like the answer of Mather to the Thirty-two Questions, Davenport's reply to the Nine Positions was not printed till 1643, though written in 1638. It treated such questions as the use of a liturgy, admission to sacraments, church membership, excommunication, and ministerial standing.

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and, in fact, nearly the whole range of polity and procedure. While Mather wrote throughout the tract as if speaking in the name of the ministers of the infant colonies, the work was wholly his own¹; but it set forth, better even than the later treatises of Cotton and Hooker, the actual practice of New England during the first decade of the Puritan settlement and was doubtless to a considerable extent formative in its influence. Like most of the writings of Richard Mather, the *Answer to the Thirty-two Questions*, is marked by simplicity, directness, and common-sense, and an entire absence of that literary pedantry which is so conspicuous a feature of the work of his grandson Cotton.

The prominence attained by Richard Mather as an expounder of the New England church-way was increased speedily after the issue of the work at which we have glanced by the publication of several pamphlets of a controversial nature, all designed to set forth more clearly the polity which he had at heart. The first of these was an exposition of that fundamental basis of the Congregational structure, the church-covenant,—the agreement into which a believer enters with his God and with his fellow-disciples, and which according to Congregational thinking is the essential bond of union which transforms a company of Christians into a church. This cogent and candid discussion, the most elaborate treatment of this single theme which early Congre-

¹ Hugh Peter, who put this Answer into print in London, in 1643, under the title of *Church-Government and Church-Covenant Discussed*, after it had circulated in manuscript, declared on the title-page that it was the "Answer of the Elders of the severall Churches"; and Richard Mather's son, Increase, affirmed (*Order of the Gospel*, Boston, 1700, p. 73) that "what he wrote was approved of by the other Elders, especially by Mr. Cotton." But Cotton told Roger Williams (*Reply to Mr. VVilliams, Pub. Narragansett Club*, II: 103) that it was "drawne up by Mr. Mader, and neither drawne up nor sent by me, nor (for ought I know) by the other Elders here,"—a statement the more striking that Cotton goes on to express his approval of the work. This affirmation of Cotton is supported by the writer of the preface to the *Disputation concerning Church Members and their Children, in Answer to XXI. Questions*, London, 1659 (doubtless Richard's son, Nathanael), "The 32 Questions, the Answerer whereof was Mr. Richard Mather, and not any other Elder or Elders in New England."

gationalism produced, was doubtless intended ultimately for the press by its author; but a stray copy having reached England through some unknown channel,¹ it was put forth to the world in 1643, as an *Apologie of the Churches in New-England . . . Sent over in Answer to Master Bernard, in the Yeare 1639*,—an authoritative title which, with all its excellencies, this work of a single New England pastor did not deserve. But if the title given to these publications by friends of the New England cause in England² led to a misunderstanding of the exact extent to which he was the spokesman of the churches of the colonies across the Atlantic,³ the care of the presentation and its fairness and fullness made Mather's work such as to render the error a venial one.

The two other tracts to which reference has been made were liable to no such misconception and were of much less importance. They had their origin in an attack upon the Congregational polity, written in a candid spirit by Rev. Charles Herle of Winwick, England.⁴ Possibly this criticism of the New England way might have passed without reply from Mather, had it not been for the peculiar interest which he felt in Winwick parish as the place of his birth⁵; and this interest was shared by Mather's clerical neighbor, William Tompson, of Braintree, who had been one of Herle's predecessors in the Winwick pulpit.⁶ The result was the publication at London in 1644 of *A Modest & Brotherly Answer*, in which the two New England ministers take the Winwick

¹ Nathanael Mather affirmed in the preface to the *Disputation* already cited, "Richard Mather . . . who likewise is the Author of the *discourse Concerning Church-Covenant* . . . which latter he wrote for his private use in his own Study, never intending, nor indeed consenting, to its publication, nor so much as knowing unto this day how the copy of it came abroad into those hands by whom it is made publick, save that he conjectures some procured a copy of it from Mr. Cotton."

² Hugh Peter seems to have been chiefly responsible.

³ Nathanael Mather, *ibid.*, "Treatises, which have gone abroad, and generally been look't upon, as the complements of the *Elders in New-England*; whereas they had but one private person for their Author."

⁴ *The Independency on Scriptures of the Independency of Churches*, etc., London, 1643.

⁵ *Modest & Brotherly Answer*, preface.

pastor briefly to task for his strictures on Congregationalism and set forth their conception of the constitution and powers of a church and its officers. This little tractate came to the notice of Prof. Samuel Rutherford, the able and kindly champion of the Presbyterian theories of Scotland, who took frequent occasion to criticise its teachings¹ in his own great Presbyterian treatise of 1644, *The Due Right of Presbyteries*, a work in which he also handled Mather's *Answer to Thirty-two Questions* and his *Apologie . . . for Church-Covenant*. To this Mather answered as soon as he was able after the tardy intercourse of the times had brought Rutherford's book to his study table; confining himself chiefly to the question, fundamental to the Presbyterian attack on the Congregational position, as to the authority of synods as courts of appeal and the competency of each local congregation to carry on its own government. The elaborateness with which Mather follows the turnings of Rutherford's argument makes this *Reply* rather dry reading, like Hooker's *Summe of Church Discipline*, to which the same treatise of the Scotch divine gave rise; but the New England apologist certainly held his own in the argument.

Thus already in the forefront, the peer of Cotton and Hooker as an expounder of New England Congregationalism, Richard Mather was naturally one of the men first thought of to draught the polity of the churches in written form, when fear of the rising tide of Presbyterianism in England and opposition from disaffected residents of Massachusetts had led to the calling of the Cambridge synod in 1646 to formulate and consolidate the New England system to meet any threatened attack. By appointment of the synod he was directed to prepare a tentative Platform,² a task which was also laid on Rev. John Cotton of Boston

¹ Rutherford was professor at St. Andrews and one of the Scotch Commissioners in the Westminster Assembly. Mather says (*Reply*, p. 1): "Against this Answer [to Herle] Mr. *Samuell Rutherford* . . . hath alledged . . . many Objections . . . J may call them many, because in that Treatise of his there are no lesse than 24 or 25 severall places, wherein he brings up by name the said Answer."

² *Magnalia*, ed. 1853-5, ii., 211.

and Rev. Ralph Partridge of Duxbury, and certainly performed by the latter. But such were the excellences of Mather's work, in view of the body whose representative he was, that when the Cambridge Platform was issued it was chiefly clothed in the language of his draught.¹ To Mather, then, more than to any other of the New England ministers, is due the form of this authoritative exposition of early American Congregationalism. In its preparation he made large use of his previous writings on matters of polity. It is the summing up of his own best thoughts on the subject, not without careful consideration of what had been set forth on the theme by other New England divines,² and the Platform, though doubtless little deserving the excessive reverence with which it has been venerated by the churches during much of this history since, is by far the best statement of Congregational principles which the seventeenth century produced, and has been largely formative in Congregational development. Had Richard Mather done nothing more than draught the Cambridge Platform he would have deserved to rank among the foremost expounders of New England polity.

After the Cambridge Platform no contributions of equal moment came from Richard Mather's pen. But he was not a conservative in the sense in which his son Increase and his grandson Cotton were conservatives. The great problem of polity which, though held in the background at the Cambridge Synod, refused to be quieted, and which turmoiled the sixth and seventh decades of the seventeenth century throughout New England, was that regarding the rights of those children of church-members who, though born of parents in covenant church-relation and baptized, could not lay claim to a personal regenerative work of God. Such persons were a growing factor in the New England population as the second generation attained maturity, and the

¹ *Ibid.* i., 453. Mather's tentative draught and the form finally adopted, both in his handwriting, are in the possession of the American Antiquarian Society of Worcester, Mass. The form proposed by him was abbreviated to half its length and evidently carefully discussed by the Synod.

² The works of Cotton were clearly used in the preparation of the Platform.

religious fervor of the first emigration spent its force. Their desire for recognition by the churches has often, but most erroneously, been represented as primarily political. But the demand was as earnest in Connecticut where no political disabilities attached to the non-church-members, as in Massachusetts where membership was a condition of the franchise. And the desire of the majority of New England ministers to have churchly privileges extended to this class of the community was greater than any impulse which went out from the persons whose status was in debate. That this was the case was natural. These children of the church, though not professing Christians, were yet reckoned as church-members by right of the covenant relations of their parents. If their right to transmit the same degree of membership was denied, as it had been by most of the expounders of Congregational polity in the early days of the settlements, a large class of the community would be released from the watch and control of the churches. Yet it was not thought wise to admit them to the Lord's Table, because they were not possessed of personal religious experience. And hence after long debate, and in spite of earnest opposition, the majority of the New England churches settled down on the view that these non-regenerate children of church-members were sufficiently church-members themselves to transmit the same status of covenant relationship and its accompanying seal of baptism to their offspring; and yet not members enough to partake of the Lord's Supper, or to vote in church affairs. This compromise, since it admitted this great class of persons to a part of the privileges of the churches while excluding them from the rest, was not inaptly nicknamed the Half-Way Covenant. But the interest of this debate for our present story is through the part taken in it by Richard Mather. Though he had expressed himself in opposition to the baptism of children whose parents, or at least one of them, were not professing Christians,¹ he was one of the earliest to embrace the newer views, and one of the strongest advocates of the Half-Way

¹ *Answer to Thirty-two Quest.*, p. 22.

practice.¹ After the Synod of 1662, of which, as well as of the Ministers' Meeting of 1657, he was a member, he defended its result against the strictures of John Davenport of New Haven.² In spite of the fact that his sons Eleazar³ and Increase⁴ at first opposed him, his voice was doubtless one of the most potent in favor of the larger baptism, more especially as the death of Hooker in 1647 and of Cotton in 1652 had left him the sole survivor of the three great early leaders of American Congregational thought. But though influential in the community at large, it is curious to note that, in spite of frequent debate, and the well known views of the pastor, Richard Mather's Dorchester church did not adopt the Half-Way practice till 1677,⁵ when he had been released from his earthly labors for more than seven years. His death-bed exhortation to his son was fidelity in the administration of the Half-Way Covenant as a means of Christian nurture for the young.⁶

Taken all in all, no one of the early ministers of New England exercised a more potent, and none so protracted an influence on the development of Congregational polity, as it existed in the seventeenth century, as Richard Mather. He was the recorder of its actual practice, the framer of its standards, and one of the prime movers in the attempts of his age for its modification and further adaptation to the needs of the time, as those needs were then understood. He may have turned in a direction at times which later generations think no line of progress, as when he supported the Half-Way Covenant movement, but there can be no doubt that he was largely instrumental in guiding the growth of Congregationalism in his own lifetime, and in giving to it tendencies which continued long after he was gone.

¹ See his views of 1645, in Increase Mather, *First Principles*, etc., Cambridge, 1675, p. 10.

² *A Defence of the Answer and Arguments of the Synod....against....J. Davenport*, Cambridge, 1664.

³ Pastor at Northampton, Mass.

⁴ Increase afterward became a defender of the Synod's conclusions.

⁵ *Records of the First Church at Dorchester*, Boston, 1891, pp. 69-75.

⁶ *Magnalia*, ed. 1853-5, i., 455.

The leadership of Richard Mather in the ecclesiastical life of the new colonies was shared with several others of equal ability, like Cotton and Hooker,—the pre-eminence of his youngest son, Increase, in the next generation was without a rival. Richard Mather left several sons of distinction, two of whom, Samuel and Nathanael, exercised protracted ministries in Dublin and London, and one, Eleazar, died in the beginnings of a pastorate of promise in Northampton, Mass., but none of them compared in ability or reputation with Increase. He has been most variously judged. He was by no means universally popular in his lifetime. He was essentially a conservative in his own thinking. His ideal was the doctrinal system of the New England of his early youth, and his view of civil government held as best the ministerial influence in the counsels of the colonies which he saw pass away in his own lifetime. It was his fate to see the town where he exercised his pastorate, and the college which was the object of his solicitude, slip from his grasp during his later life, and move in the direction of a theologic liberalism which he believed fatal to the churches. He pushed his plans with an uncompromisingness which made him many enemies in his own lifetime, and which has exposed his memory to charges of self-seeking narrowness.¹ But when all deductions have been made, there is no man who compares with him in the New England of his day in ability, leadership, or influence, or who more sincerely labored for what he deemed the abiding interests of the Kingdom of God. The champion of a conservative cause is always exposed to the charge of illiberality while he labors, and his memory to detraction by a world which has moved in the direction against which he has fought. Increase Mather was no exception. But he well deserves the description of Prof. Wendell, "the greatest of the native Puritans."²

¹ Notably by Pres. Quincy in his *History of Harvard University*; the defence of Increase Mather's character and motives by Robbins, *Hist. of the Second Church . . . Boston*, is an adequate reply.

² Wendell, *Cotton Mather*, p. 287.

During all the earlier part of his ministry Increase Mather was the prime mover in all that was done in the churches of Massachusetts. He had gone to England in 1657, soon after his graduation from Harvard, and had met with a good degree of acceptance as a preacher, but, unlike his two brothers, he returned to the New World soon after the Restoration. Here he began preaching at once to the Second Church in Boston, though he did not accept the office of teacher till 1664, and here he remained till his death in 1723. The post was probably the most prominent in influence of any in the colony, especially after the crippling and division of the First Church in Boston in 1669, consequent upon the Half-Way Covenant discussion and the settlement of John Davenport. But Increase Mather's prominence was not due to his position, but to himself. He was in the forefront of every ecclesiastical action of the last three decades of the seventeenth century. It was he who, brought to his father's views by the arguments of Rev. Jonathan Mitchell of Cambridge,¹ became the leading expounder of the Half-Way Covenant. He it was who, after New England had been ravaged by Philip's War and by pestilence, procured from the Massachusetts General Court the summons of the last religious synod that met by state authority in that colony,—the so-called "Reforming Synod" of 1679-80²; and when that body assembled for the first session in 1679 it was Increase Mather who drew up the result³ in which the synod set forth the evils which, in its judgment, had brought the wrath of God on the land, and pointed out the remedies by which the Divine anger could be averted. The synod also chose Increase Mather one of the committee to prepare a creed for the churches, and when the body reassembled for its second session in May, 1680, and adopted the Savoy modification of the Westminster Confession as the doctrinal expression of Massachusetts, its deliberations were guided by Increase Mather from the Moderator's chair, and the Con-

¹ *Magnalia*, ii., 310.

² C. Mather, *Parentator*, p. 84.

³ *The Necessity of Reformation*, etc., Boston, 1679.

fession was commended to the churches in a preface written by his pen.¹ Indeed, during the waning years of the government under the old charter in Massachusetts, Increase Mather was in some sense a spiritual mentor to those in authority. It was to him that they often turned for the draughting of proclamations appointing days of fasts and thanksgivings.² He was equally conspicuous in his connection with the educational interests of the colony. The presidency of Harvard was declined by him in 1681, but was accepted in 1685, and in this post he remained till his opponents made his non-residence in Cambridge the pretext for his ejection in 1701. When it is remembered that practically all ministerial candidates in New England then passed through the training of the one college which the Puritan colonies possessed till the year of Increase Mather's retirement, it will readily be seen that the presidency of Harvard was a post of the first importance for its influence upon the churches. Increase Mather was a man of weight in ecclesiastical affairs always. A most conspicuous illustration of his power is the formation, chiefly through his agency exerted in the intervals of leisure in an arduous political mission to England, of the Union of Presbyterian and Congregational ministers in and about London—a body which, indeed, soon quarrelled and fell apart after he had returned to Boston; but which was, while it lasted, the only extensive association of Congregationalists and Presbyterians which the seventeenth century beheld.³ It was the confession of this Union, the *Heads of Agreement*, which became in 1708 one of the legally established bases of the Connecticut state churches.

The greatest of the services of Increase Mather to the churches of his native province was not, however, in any of these matters, but in a political agency of value at a trying

¹ *Parentator*, p. 87.

² My friend, Rev. William De Loss Love of Hartford, the results of whose extensive investigations regarding New England fasts and thanksgivings will soon be published, is my informant.

³ See *Papers Am. Soc. Ch. Hist.*, iv., 29-52.

moment of Massachusetts history. The Massachusetts charter which rendered that province locally self-governing, had long been looked upon with disfavor by the Stuart sovereigns. It had been earnestly defended by the early settlers against the encroachments of the government of Charles I.; but Charles II. was now attacking it, and the situation both in Old England and New favored such an onslaught. In the mother-country the Puritan party was in disgrace, the opponents of the religious system of New England were in authority; in the province the old sturdy Puritan type of the Winthrops and Dudleys had, to some extent, given place to a society swayed by prospects of political advantage, or commercial interest, especially in the chief towns,¹—a society whose aspirations and affiliations favored rather than discountenanced closer connection with the royal authorities. But Increase Mather opposed these tendencies with all his power. In 1683 that enemy of Massachusetts, Edward Randolph, succeeded in serving upon the colonial government a writ summoning it to show cause before the English courts why the charter should not be vacated. Such a loss of charter rights would be the imperilling of all that Massachusetts held dear in civil liberty, ecclesiastical polity, or even personal property. But the weak-kneed upper House of the Legislature favored submission to such a revision of the charter as the King might choose. The lower House, however, representing as it did the still strongly Puritan sentiment of the common people and the country towns, refused; and there is every reason to believe that their refusal was largely aided by the arguments of Increase Mather,² who also showed himself conspicuously the defender of the older order in an address in the Boston town meeting.³ This refusal to submit to the royal pleasure removed the last hope of the abandonment of the proceedings in England against the charter; and in June, 1684, the Court of Chancery at London declared it

¹ Compare Palfrey, *Hist. of New England*, iii., 359, etc.

² See *ibid.*, 381-5.

³ *Parentator*, p. 91.

void and swept away at one blow the legal basis of all Massachusetts institutions. The next year saw the accession of James II. to the English throne, and then followed speedily the tyrannous rule of the younger Dudley and of Andros in Massachusetts, with its violations of long-cherished personal and property rights, and what was almost equally offensive to the New England Puritan, its introduction of Episcopal worship into Boston.

Under these circumstances some of the more influential men of the colony determined to see what could be done by a direct personal appeal to James II., a king whose desire for Catholic emancipation in England inclined him to seek the favor of those other sufferers from English uniformity, the Non-Conformists. For such a purpose Increase Mather was the most representative man; at once the foremost minister of the colony, and a vigorous political defender of the old charter, his power as a preacher would win him friends among the English Dissenters, by whom his earlier stay in England was pleasantly remembered, and his wide experience in life made him as well fitted to appear to advantage among the courtiers who surrounded the Stuart throne. Accordingly, Increase Mather slipped out of New England early in April, 1688, having to use secrecy to avoid arrest by the Andros government, and by the end of May was in London. Here he presented his case before James¹ and was received with personal favor, though the requests which he and his associates² made in behalf of Massachusetts were not granted. But meanwhile he diligently cultivated the friendship of the leading Non-Conformists, and obtained, to some extent, the favor of the Whig leaders, so that when the revolution of the autumn of 1688 drove James from his

¹ These moderate demands, far short of a full restoration of ancient rights, may be found in Hutchinson, *Hist. Mass. Bay*, ed. London, 1765, i., 367-9.

² Mather found in London Samuel Nowell and Elisha Hutchinson, formerly members of the Massachusetts upper House, whom he associated with him. The best single account of Mather's work in England, together with copies of tracts published by him in defence of New England and furtherance of his mission, is in *The Andros Tracts* (Prince Society), Boston, 1869, vol. ii., ed. by W. H. Whitmore.

throne and substituted the joint sovereignty of William and Mary, Increase Mather was able to approach the new government with some prospect of favorable hearing. At first William proved almost as intractable as his Stuart predecessor, and it was soon evident that a full restoration of the ancient privileges of Massachusetts was out of the question.¹ But though he failed in doing all that he desired, Mather accomplished much. He defeated the plan to restore Andros, and to unite the New England colonies under a single royal governor. He prevented the annexation of Plymouth Colony to New York, and secured its incorporation in Massachusetts, and finally, in the summer of 1691, in spite of the opposition of the agents whom Massachusetts had associated with him,² and who impracticably held for the old charter or nothing, Mather obtained a charter which, though distasteful to him in its limitations, though it reserved to the King the appointment of the highest officers of government, and a right to reject obnoxious laws, though it swept away any ecclesiastical test for the franchise, and granted freedom of worship to Protestants of all shades, left to Massachusetts a legislature whose lower House was directly chosen by the people, and whose upper House was still largely under the control of the popular representatives, a legislature too which held the purse, and hence had a potent means of control over all branches of the government. The old local governments of the towns were left undisturbed, and this, with the power of taxation which was in the hands of the legislature, insured the ascendancy of the form of ecclesiastical polity which had heretofore been dominant in New England. An express provision, confirming all grants made by the General Court in time past, assured to individuals and churches the possession of their lands, and the maintenance as far as possible of the old order of

¹ Mather nearly succeeded in obtaining the restoration of the old charter from Parliament in 1690. See Palfrey, iv., 64.

² After the deposition of Andros in Massachusetts, the General Court of that province had sent Elisha Cooke and Thomas Oakes, both of whom had been Speakers of the lower House, to join Mather in England.

affairs. Such was the charter which Increase Mather obtained for his native colony.

The constitution was, as I have said, not wholly satisfactory to Increase Mather; it was not satisfactory to a considerable party in the colony, who wished nothing less than the restoration of the ancient semi-independence, and who were not sufficiently familiar with the difficulties of the political situation to see how impossible of realization their wish was. This party criticised Mather for his work. But there can be no doubt that no Massachusetts man of that day could have secured so much. The old charter of Charles I. was an anomaly as soon as the colony grew powerful enough to be in any sense a rival to the mother-country. The privileges which it granted were too nearly those of independence to have continued in a large colony in the seventeenth century without civil war. A modification was sure to come at some time, and it was well in some respects for church and state alike, that certain of the old ecclesiastical privileges should be abolished.¹ But James II. had swept away the defences of every New England institution by his arbitrary officials after his brother's courts had abolished the ancient charter. It was a question whether anything could be saved, or whether Massachusetts should become a province, ruled in every detail by the whim of the King. It was the work of Increase Mather, unaided by his more unpractical associates, to rescue for Massachusetts the larger part of her civil liberties, and to put her churches and her schools beyond the danger of forcible conversion to Episcopal uses by the agents of the English government. And there can be no doubt as to the greatness of Mather's service.² It is not too much to say that he did more than any man of his generation to maintain essentially operative, and to hand down to his successors, the civil and ecclesiastical institutions of New

¹ That Connecticut maintained the charter of Charles II., was due in great part to her smallness, in part also to the willingness of the home government to keep her as a thorn in the side of Massachusetts.

² Compare Whitmore, Introduction to vol. ii. of *The Andros Tracts*, p. xxviii.

England, which without his efforts could not have escaped far more serious modification than they actually underwent.

But though Increase Mather's efforts in defence of the ecclesiastical and civil constitution of New England put the colonies, and especially Massachusetts, under great obligations to him, they cannot be said to have added to his happiness. The English authorities conferred on him the very unusual distinction, a distinction which shows most clearly their estimate of his ability, of making him the nominator of the first appointments under the new charter. It would be too much to affirm that all his choices were wise; they certainly were such as to arouse a good deal of hostility to him, from the effects of which he suffered all his later life, and which contributed not a little to his loss of the presidency of Harvard College in 1701.

One more enterprise of importance remains to be noticed to obtain a fair estimate of Increase Mather's relations to the churches, though it shows him in a less successful and in many ways less agreeable undertaking. In doctrine and polity alike Increase Mather was a conservative. Could he have had matters to his liking he would have perpetuated the New England of his early Boston ministry. But no time is a period of absolute rest in the ecclesiastical or political world, and there were those in Boston and in the board of instruction of Harvard College who looked for change, and, as it seemed to them, a liberalization of the usages of earlier New England.¹ These men desired the abandonment of public relations of religious experience in admission to church membership, and they wished that all baptized adults who shared in the minister's support should have a voice in his election. These were the two main features of their innovations, but they desired also the baptism of all children presented by any Christian sponsor, the reading of the Scriptures without comment, and the liturgical use of the Lord's Prayer. The first two of these changes were opposed

¹ This story I have told at some length in the *Yale Review*, i., 68-79, and I will venture therefore to omit references there to be found to the literature of the quarrel.

by Increase Mather with great vigor, and in a way to provoke his liberalizing associates in the Harvard faculty and their sympathizers in Boston. The result was the building of a new meeting-house in Boston in 1698, and the call and settlement over the newly organized Brattle Church, in 1699, of a minister who was willing to put these innovations into practice. All this was done without countenance from the other churches of Boston, and much against Mather's will, and in the heat of the dispute he put forth, in the spring of 1700, a vigorous defence of the older New England practices, *The Order of the Gospel*. This little work had not, of course, the formative value of the writings of the fathers of New England Congregationalism; it had not the prophecy of the future which was wrapped up, all unconsciously to the writer, in Wise's expositions of what he fancied the early New England ideals a few years later. But no work of the second New England generation so ably sets forth or so vigorously champions the Congregationalism of the last half of the seventeenth century as this tract of Increase Mather. To him it was the source of controversy enough. Replied to by sympathizers with the innovators, it led to a bitter personal discussion, and contributed in a measure to his expulsion from the management of Harvard at the hands of his political enemies and the ecclesiastical liberalizers who succeeded him in the control of the college. It seems to have been the occasion also of the publication by Rev. Solomon Stoddard of Northampton of his famous *Doctrine of Instituted Churches*, in which he advanced the theory that the Lord's Supper was a saving ordinance designed for all those, whether regenerate or not, who were of the covenant fellowship of the church by Christian parentage and baptism. Against Stoddard, as against the leaders of the Brattle Church movement, Increase Mather wrote and labored; and to prevent future innovations, Cotton, if not Increase, took part in a widespread, though futile, attempt to establish in Massachusetts a system of Consociationism, —an attempt which apparently furnished the model to Connecticut in 1708. But though the majority of Massa-

chusetts churches remained of Increase Mather's way of thinking, he had to see the college slip into what he deemed a dangerous liberalism, and to behold the extensive spread of Stoddardean views in the Connecticut valley. To some extent passed by in the drift of events, his old age was a period of disappointment; but he was never without influence, and was as long as he lived the foremost of the New England ministry, alike in the merit of the services which he had rendered to his country and its churches, and the reverence which his abilities compelled.

Cotton Mather, the third of this distinguished line, the eldest son of Increase, has attracted more popular attention, and is more generally, if not always accurately, known to the casual reading public of the present age than any other citizen of colonial New England. By reason of this public interest, too, he has been more the subject of careful biography than his father or grandfather.¹ Yet that this has been the case has been rather the result of his faults and eccentricities than of his virtues. Talented as he undoubtedly was, he had neither the ability of his father as a leader of men, nor the sound common-sense which always marked the writings of his grandfather. In influence on the age in which he lived he did not compare with his two predecessors. He is not so worthy of careful commemoration as they. Yet his literary style, carrying the faults of his age to grotesqueness, his self-esteem, the voluminousness of his writings on every subject, and the technical language of Puritan religious expression in which he uttered his thoughts, have always caught the popular fancy, and made Cotton Mather appear more typical of the land and age in which he lived than he really was. But when all necessary abatement from his fame is made, and when his very considerable limitations are distinctly recognized, he still remains one of the men to whom New England Congregationalism is conspicuously indebted.

¹ Much the most discriminating and valuable biography of Cotton Mather is that of Prof. Wendell, *Cotton Mather*, New York, 1891, "Makers of America" Series.

Throughout most of his life Cotton Mather was intimately associated with his father, Increase. Born in Boston in 1663, he was brought up in his father's home, and to that home he returned after his graduation from Harvard in 1678, and soon became his father's assistant in the care of the Boston Second Church, to the pastorate of which he was ordained, after some years of previous service, in 1685. From that time, till his death in 1728, Boston was his home, and for all except the last five years of that long period he was the companion, assistant, and confidant of his father in all pastoral work. The father and son were remarkably sympathetic, and in many ways singularly alike. No breach of feeling appears ever to have brought a shade of coolness between them. But the temperament of the son had not the balance of the father's disposition; he had missed that best of schooling which comes from mingling with men of prominence in a large community,—a schooling which the father richly enjoyed during two prolonged residences in England. The circumstances of his early life, too, emphasized his natural self-esteem. Valuable as his companionship with his father was, it gave him a prominence in youth that would not otherwise have been his, a prominence all the more dangerous because he had not his equal in talent among his contemporaries in the little provincial capital which was his life-time home.¹ And this intimacy of association with his father made him also no independent force in New England ecclesiastical development. He fought side by side with his father in the controversies for the maintenance of the system of older New England; and his father's defeats and successes were his own. In the arena of politics, where his father's services were so conspicuous, he never gained distinction, though on the occasion of the arrest of Andros and other officers of the hated tyranny by the insurgent people of Boston in 1689, he was instrumental in averting disorder which might have cost the colony dear.² His conspicuity in the witch-

¹ See the judicious remarks of Wendell, p. 100.

² See Samuel Mather, *Life of . . . Cotton Mather*, Boston, 1729, pp. 41-44.

craft excitement of 1692 was as much religious as political, and the activity which he evinced, while in all probability the result of the honest convictions of an imaginative mind fully persuaded of the reality of unseen workings of evil, though it made him the popular leader for the time, was not such as to benefit the community while it lasted, or to add to his own repute after the excitement had died away.

But while in so much of his activity Cotton Mather simply did that which his father did better, or that which it were well that he had not done, in one department his service to New England was pre-eminent. He was the biographer of her worthies of the first two generations, and the perpetuator of the spirit of her founders. I am well aware that Cotton Mather's accuracy as an historian has often been criticised, and with some degree of justice also; for, judged by the demands of modern antiquarian carefulness, he took neither the time nor the pains always to give to his work that precision in the designation of date and place, the absence of which is so exasperating to those who make use of other men's labors. Nor were his portraits always photographically correct likenesses of the men whom he sketched. He overlooked the weaknesses of the Puritan leaders more often than a conscientious modern biographer would do. He not infrequently sought to make a padding of pious reflection or pedantic quotation conceal the poverty of fact. But what a loss New England history would experience were the *Magnalia* and the minor historical sketches of Cotton Mather blotted out. When all deductions from the merits of his historical writings have been made, they remain a priceless picture of the men of early New England, and even more a truthful reflection of the Puritan spirit. Whatever may be their error in detail, the sketches of the *Magnalia* give the best insight anywhere to be obtained into the thought and aspirations of seventeenth-century New England. In them we see the self-denial and the deep consciousness of spiritual things which marked these men, their conviction of divine favor and displeasure in the occurrences of every-day life, their determination to submit

church and state to the Word of God as they understood it, and withal their narrowness and intolerance. It is this faithfulness in the delineation of the spirit of Puritan New England that must ever give the *Magnalia* its highest value. But it is not merely for its reproduction of the general atmosphere of that great movement that Cotton Mather's work has worth. When he knew the facts, and in a large proportion of cases he did, his biographical portraits are sketches of men of flesh and blood, possessed of individual characteristics, not mere lay-figures on which to hang draperies substantially similar in effect. Nor is the least of the merits of Cotton Mather's historical work the general readableness of his narratives, in spite of their conspicuous faults of style. One has but to compare his writings with those of his son Samuel to appreciate how much his work owes to skill and clearness in presentation.¹

One other work of Cotton Mather deserves a place beside the *Magnalia* as a source of ecclesiastical history, the *Ratio Disciplinae Fratrum Nov-Anglorum*, which he gave to the public in 1726. Eighty-seven years before, his grandfather, Richard, had sent to England the manuscript of his description of New England ecclesiastical usages as they were in that day of beginnings, the *Answer to the XXXII. Questions*. It was a similar service that Cotton Mather did for his own age. There was, indeed, great dissimilarity in the importance of the two works to the times in which they were written, but that dissimilarity was due rather to change in circumstances than to any inferiority in the work of the younger Mather. In 1639 New England institutions were still plastic; a great party in England, bent on the reformation of the English Establishment, looked with eager curiosity for the results of the experiments across the sea, and the work of Richard Mather was a formative force in the two Englands. By 1726 New England had outworn its interest in questions of church polity, its forms had largely crystallized, and such changes as there were in progress

¹ The observations of Prof. Wendell (*Cotton Mather*, pp. 160-162) seem to me eminently just.

were leaving Cotton Mather in the rear, a representative of an epoch which had passed away, rather than finding in him a leader. But, from the point of view of church history, Cotton Mather's *Ratio Disciplinae* loses nothing of value. It is our best picture of the state and practices of the Congregational churches at the close of their first century on American soil. It is full and clear, minute in detail, if sometimes somewhat gossipy in style; and it answers all the more important questions which may be asked regarding the customs of the churches. Certainly the services of Cotton Mather to the memories of the two generations which had gone before him, and to the ecclesiastical history of his own age, are as deserving of remembrance as the contributions of Richard Mather to Congregational polity or the efforts of Increase for the defence of New England institutions.

In one department of activity, of much more importance in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries than now, the story of these three generations is one of increasing power. It is in the publication of writings designed for the upbuilding of the Christian life. Though the New Englanders were a well educated people, judged by the low standards of European countries two hundred years ago, books in the ordinary New England household were few. The first newspaper in the Puritan colonies did not begin its feeble existence till 1704¹; the whole range of periodical literature was yet to be. Into households, therefore, whose sole literary store was drawn from the commentaries of the Puritan divines, and whose only specimen of what might be called current literature was the almanac, the sermons and exhortations of the New England ministers came with a welcome now inconceivable. And foremost in the number and variety of such publications stand the Mathers, especially Increase and Cotton. It was not mere desire to see themselves in print that urged them on to such continuous publication. The want which they supplied was a real one, one which

¹ The *Boston News-Letter*. An abortive attempt was made to start a paper in Boston in 1690. See *Memorial Hist. of Boston*, vol. ii., 387.

had been felt by all the leaders of Puritan thought; and this ministration was of value to the community at large. But the amazing thing is the abundance with which these publications were poured forth by these men, sufficiently engrossed, one would suppose, in the cares of an active ministry and the obligations of public affairs. Richard Mather was not largely a publisher, perhaps because the colony possessed scanty facilities for printing till late in his life; but in the fifty-four years of the career of Increase Mather from 1669 to his death in 1723 he sent forth some 159 works of all sorts, and his son Cotton between 1682 and 1728 no less than 451.¹ Among this vast number were some controversial tracts, and some treatises of larger ecclesiastical and historical moment which have already been noted, but the vast majority were designed to arouse Christian feeling, to carry conviction of the truths of the Christian faith, to commemorate events which seemed to the writers peculiarly providential in their nature, or to upbuild the young in the principles of ethics. A large proportion were sermons on special occasions, elections, funerals, ordinations, executions, some were prefaces to works commended to the New England churches, others letters on practical topics as remote from theology as the management of infectious diseases. But all this mass of printed matter, commonplace as most of it is to a modern reader, helped to meet a real want in the day of its issue. Even so little of a sympathizer with those interests of religion which Cotton Mather held chief as Benjamin Franklin, declared that one of these tracts had had a permanent influence upon his own character²; and what was Franklin's experience must have been that of thousands of humbler fame and more Christian feeling.

Three such men of one lineage are certainly a remarkable line to be interwoven in the story of any religious body. It

¹ The full list is given in Sibley, *Graduates of Harvard*, vol. i., 438-69; iii. 42-158. I have omitted MSS. from my reckoning.

² His *Essay Upon the Good*, called in later editions, *Essays to do Good*, Boston, 1710. See Marvin, *Life and Times of Cotton Mather*, Boston, [1892] p. 362.

was Cotton Mather's hope that there should be a fourth, but that was not to be. The son whose intellectual gifts promised prospect of the continuance of the succession, Increase, made moral shipwreck, and died in early youth. Another son, Samuel, followed in his father's steps, entered the colleague pastorate of the Second Boston Church, which his father and grandfather had served, four years after Cotton Mather's decease, and remained a respectable if not very popular Boston minister till his death in old age in 1785. There were in his outward circumstances of birth and position all the opportunities necessary for the perpetuation of the family prominence. But the ability was lacking, and the influence of Samuel Mather upon the churches was nothing. One trace of the old desire to be of service in the larger concerns of the body to which he belonged is to be seen in the *Apology for the Liberties of the Churches in New England*, which he put forth in 1738, and which is not without merit as a treatise on Congregational polity. But it was only a spark of the old fire which had burned so brightly in his three ancestors. It is of them, rather than of Samuel Mather, that we think when we consider the services of the Mathers in the religious development of New England.

HOLLAND AND RELIGIOUS FREEDOM

HOLLAND AND RELIGIOUS FREEDOM.

BY REV. TALBOT WILSON CHAMBERS, D.D., LL.D.

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Complete religious freedom never existed upon earth until the present century, and even now it is found only in North America and some of the colonial possessions of Great Britain. The ancient world seems never to have formed the conception of such a thing. Religion was always allied with the State. Each people was supposed to have its own gods whom it worshipped in its own way. And rarely did even foreign conquest deprive the subdued people of their religion. Thus Assyria allowed the settlers who took the place of exiled Israel to have a priest of Israel to "teach them the manner of the God of the land." 2 Kings xvii., 27. And when the Jews were carried off to Babylon, it appears that they were allowed to retain their own religious usages without hindrance. But whenever propagandism was attempted, or any attack made or supposed to be made on the faith or worship of a people, there came at once a violent reaction. Thus the main charge upon which Socrates was condemned at Athens, was that he did not worship the gods that the city worshipped, but introduced new divinities of his own. Imperial Rome rarely disturbed the religion of the nations which one after another submitted to her authority, yet there was a distinction made in regard to the worships introduced into the Eternal City. Some were allowed, others were forbidden. Christianity with its exclusive claims soon came to be numbered among the latter. The reason why it was sorely persecuted was its opposition to the religion of the state, and its adherents were put under

the ban rather as rebels than as errorists. And hence the best of the emperors were the fiercest advocates of intolerance. Precisely the same thing appeared when the faith of the Nazarene gained the ascendancy, and the Church was allied with the State. Only one form of Christianity was recognized as legitimate, and every departure from it was treated as a crime against the government. The imperial legislation from Constantine to Justinian, is filled with penal laws against all dissenters from the dogmas of the ruling state church. So the mediæval persecution of the Albigenses and Waldenses was justified on the same grounds. The Church defined the heresy and the State punished it by the sword. When the Reformation came, although the cruel despotism of Rome received a shock, there resulted no real change of principle. The Reformers as a body had no conception of religious freedom. They all held that the civil magistrate had not only the right but the duty to support the true faith and to suppress heresy. All acted upon the maxim, *cujus regio ejus religio*. All over Europe there were penal laws against those who dissented from the recognized religion of the commonwealth in which they lived. And frequently the Lutherans and the Reformed were as bitter against each other, as they were or had been against the Roman Catholics, their common foe. And it is true that the Thirty Years' War, which so sadly desolated central Europe, owed much of its fierceness and continuance to the mutual jealousy and intolerance of the two great divisions of Protestants.

The first and most lasting breach of the prevalent intolerance was made in Holland, perhaps the last place in which it might be looked for. The independence of Holland was the fruit of an eighty years' struggle for religious liberty. It began in 1568 with the execution of Egmont and Horn, and ended at the Peace of Westphalia in 1648. It is justly called a struggle for religious liberty. For as Motley says: "There never was a period in the early history of the Dutch revolt when the Provinces would not have returned to their obedience, could they have been assured of enjoying liberty

of conscience, a religious peace, nor was there ever a single moment in Philip II's life, in which he wavered in his fixed determination never to listen to such a claim." The parties to this contest were very unequal. On one side was a slender group of cities governed by merchants and artisans, and planted precariously upon a meagre, unstable soil; on the other, a populous empire whose ruler controlled a third part of the known world. Yet in the end, truth and right prevailed, although at a prodigious sacrifice. The land was furrowed with graves, and filled with widows and orphans. Mary of England is known in history as "Bloody Mary," because during her reign two hundred and seventy-seven persons suffered death for their religion. But in Holland the slain were numbered by scores of thousands, the victims of the Inquisition in that country outnumbering those of all the other countries of Europe together. Sometimes they were buried alive, at other times swung from the scaffold, or burned at the stake. When a city was taken by storm, every woman was violated and every man put to death. The cruelties practised in the name of religion were incredible in their atrocity and number. Great authorities allege that the Netherlanders who were burned, strangled, beheaded, or buried alive under Philip's orders amounted to a hundred thousand.

It would have been natural for the Hollanders when they had gained their freedom to retaliate upon their oppressors and suppress by force all Roman Catholic worship. Nor is it to be denied that some felt a desire to take this course and have all papists banished, not only because of their ill-doing in the past, but because they were suspected of plotting against the liberties of the country. And doubtless their wishes would have been gratified but for the strenuous and persistent opposition of William the Silent. At the union of Holland and Zeeland at Delft, April 25, 1576, he resolutely demanded toleration. It was made the duty of the Prince of Orange to maintain the Reformed Evangelical Church and to hinder the public exercise of all other religions contrary to the Gospel, but it was at the same time

provided that "no inquisition should be made into any man's belief or conscience, nor should any man because thereof suffer trouble, injury, or hindrance." Thus, as it has been well said, toleration became the corner-stone of the republic, and under this liberal doctrine all sects thrived and were protected, even the Jews, who denied the Gospel, never being disturbed on that account. The very next year an attempt was made to persecute the Anabaptists, but it was at once arrested by the Prince; and these unoffending people had a protection that contrasted strongly with what they were compelled to suffer in Germany, Switzerland, and England. Three years later, when a closer bond was made (Jan. 23, 1579), called from the place where it was published, *The Union of Utrecht*, the same provision was re-enacted; each province was to manage public worship as it thought proper, but every man should remain free in his religion, and no one be molested or questioned on the subject of divine worship. And this continued with some exceptions to be the permanent law of the Netherlands.

It may seem inconsistent with this statement that subsequently one of the reasons why an accommodation with Spain was delayed so many years was the fact that Spain required a guaranty of protection for all Roman Catholics residing in the Netherlands, and the Seven Provinces were wholly unwilling to grant it. But the point is susceptible of an easy explanation. 1. In negotiations between independent states, one party has no right to insist that the other should do that which is a matter of internal action alone. The excellence of the matter has nothing to do with the principle involved. There can be no real independence so long as one of the contracting parties claims power to regulate the domestic government of the other. 2. The Dutch were quite willing to grant toleration to the papists, but not at the demand of Spain, so that these papists should feel under obligations not to their own but to a foreign government. 3. Besides, such a toleration might lead to the parade of Romanist worship in such a way, processions, pilgrimages, banners, etc., as to provoke discord and disturb

the public peace. 4. Moreover, the introduction of Jesuits and friars might furnish opportunity for plots against the government, since the religious question was so mixed up with politics. It was therefore wise and prudent for the Provinces to keep the matter in their own hands, and to refuse to be bound to a party outside as to the treatment of its own people.

Of course there were hot-heads among them, embittered partisans who said and felt that toleration was a covenant with hell, but these were in a decided minority. The body of the people stood behind the Prince of Orange, and seconded his wise and liberal views, so that even after the death of William the Silent toleration continued the law of the country. There was a considerable Roman Catholic population in the Netherlands, but they suffered no abridgment of their liberties. Nothing occurred in Holland in the remotest degree resembling the state of affairs in England, where in 1585 an act was passed making it treason for a Roman priest to be in England, and felony to harbor one; and in the last fourteen years of Elizabeth's life (1589-1603) sixty-one priests, forty-seven laymen, and two gentlewomen suffered capital punishment for their religion, most of the victims being drawn and quartered. It is often said that these persons were executed for treason and not for religion; but this is only a quibble, for the statute under which they were punished made the mere practice of a religious rite an act of treason.

Thus, then, toleration was established. The only restriction upon Romanists was in respect to the public exercise of their religion. Otherwise, no distinction was made between them and other citizens, and some of them even held office under the government. This toleration continued unbroken save for a short period in the early part of the 17th century when it was sadly disturbed by the intestine dissensions of the Protestants. The bulk of the people were Reformed, *i. e.*, of the school of Calvin, and they held the doctrinal opinions of the great Swiss theologian. But in the course of time diverging views were introduced,

called from the name of their great champion, James Arminius (1560-1609), Arminianism. These fermented in the universities and among the churches until 1618 when the States-General convoked a Synod composed of delegates from all the Reformed churches of Europe to consider and decide the points at issue. This Synod met at Dordrecht in November, 1618, and continued in session until May, 1619. Its decisions were favorable to the Calvinists, adopting what is known as sublapsarianism. And the Synod decided that the Arminian schismatics should be deprived of all their offices, both academic and ecclesiastical until such time as they should satisfy the churches of their sincere repentance; and this decision was confirmed by the States-General. Fines were imposed upon all who frequented their assemblies, and contumacious ministers and students were made liable to perpetual imprisonment, or even a more severe punishment if the case required it. The professors of the University of Leyden who were Arminians were displaced; and the students who refused subscription to the canons were expelled. Two hundred clergymen were deprived of their benefices; and eighty of the number who declined to enter into a promise to abstain from preaching were banished from the country. Nor can we doubt that there was a great deal of cruel and unmerited suffering, although it was light indeed compared with what the previous generation had suffered at the hands of the Spanish Inquisition. And there were alleviations which have not always been taken into the account by writers and critics. The ministers expelled from their positions and driven into exile were not sent away empty-handed. The full salaries—of those at least who appeared before the Synod—were paid to them, and they were in addition supplied with ample funds to defray the expenses of their voyage. Those who remained at home all had their salaries continued if they abstained from preaching. Besides, the persecution did not last very long. Six years after it began, in 1625, Prince Maurice died, and with him passed away the political animosity which had been cherished against Barne-

veldt and his adherents. His brother and successor, Frederick Henry, was friendly to the Arminians, and under his protection they returned from banishment, and began to hold public assemblies. Some strict Calvinists protested, but their protests were in vain. The so-called religious persecution was a thing of the past, and its dying embers could not be revived. The Arminians established their own schools and colleges, opened their churches, and soon stood on a full equality with all the other sects.

Still the question recurs, Why was there any persecution at all? Why was not the same liberty allowed to the Arminians as to the Romanists? The answer is that it was not so much particular doctrines of faith that were involved as it was the general interests of the Church. The Arminians wished to secure a union of Church and State somewhat resembling that of England. Under their proposed system the legislative body would have settled the religion of the people, and the civil magistrates would have selected the ministers and regulated all church affairs. Their opinion was that, did their opponents prevail, the clergy would attempt to control the civil authorities and set up what would prove to be an ecclesiastical despotism. The result showed that these fears were groundless, but they existed, and they contributed to introduce an element of peculiar bitterness into the controversy. Nor can the case be fairly estimated unless one takes into account the degree in which the doctrinal issue was mingled with the civil and political differences of the time. On one side were Barneveldt, Grotius, and the leading men in the States-General, who insisted upon what has been called the State's Rights theory, the separate and independent action of each of the Seven Provinces. On the other side was Prince Maurice, with the clergy and the body of the people, who insisted upon a national government. In the struggle between these two parties many wrong things were done, conspicuous among which were the judicial murder of Barneveldt and the imprisonment of Grotius. Eventually the cause of unity and nationality triumphed. With this the orthodox were iden-

tified, while the Arminians were mainly on the opposite side. And hence it was not only errors in religion but also serious differences on political matters that gave rise to the persecution. This is proven by the fact that all this time the Anabaptists, who agreed in doctrine with the Arminians, the Lutherans, the Jews, and the Romanists, remained altogether undisturbed—a difference which can be accounted for only on the grounds just stated.

Henceforth Holland continued to maintain the old union of Church and State, but it was the mildest form of that union. The State supported the Church, but made no attempt to interfere with its doctrine or discipline. On the other hand the clergy, elected by their congregations, made no attempt at interference in civil matters, and claimed no authority except that derived from their piety and learning.

The consequence of this religious liberty was a prodigious development, not only of agriculture and commerce, but also of art, science, and letters. The Dutch became the carriers of the world's trade, and their vessels vexed every known sea. Their fresh methods of tillage became famous. Amsterdam was the principal exchange of Europe, and its bank was made the model of all other national banks. Holland became the printing-house of the continent, issuing more books than all other lands together, and excelling in quality as well as in number, as the names of Plantin and Elzevir testify. It supplied the world with the most accomplished jurists, the most skilful physicians, and the most original thinkers in science.

“There was a prosperous and prolific school of painters and a skilful school of engravers in Holland before a single Englishman had attempted either art. The University of Leyden was far more renowned in the seventeenth century than Oxford, Cambridge, or Paris were, and students from all countries crowded into this, the youngest of the great universities. Holland was the origin of modern international law [Grotius], and of modern physic [Boerhaave.] It was the country whence the best mathematical, the best astronomical, the best nautical instruments could be

obtained. Nor was there any department of learning or skill in which the Dutch did not excel."¹

This wondrous exhibition of power in so many different directions was due to the large measure of civil and religious liberty there enjoyed. Men were free to apply their genius or talent, or taste to what they pleased, and they felt the acute stimulus which free institutions always impart. Nor were they destitute of help from outside. Holland was for a long period the city of refuge for all that suffered for their views on religious or political or any other questions. From Great Britain, as one or other party gained the ascendancy, the defeated fled for safety to the Low Countries, and so with the rest of Europe. Holland received them without question, and, so long as they kept the peace and behaved as good citizens, protected them against all assailants. The religious freedom enjoyed was not perfect, it was not as complete and full-orbed as in our own land; but it was enough to make a violent contrast with what prevailed everywhere else, and to furnish a secure harbor for all who for any cause suffered elsewhere for conscience' sake.

¹Thorold Rogers, *Story of Holland*, pp. 220-1.

THE ITALIAN RENAISSANCE OF TO-DAY

THE ITALIAN RENAISSANCE OF TO-DAY.

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Those were red-letter days in 1890, when in Italy, Switzerland, and Germany the learned and beloved President of our Society was my almost daily guide, teacher, and companion.

It was he who, at Rome, in the Vatican, Victor Emmanuel, and German Archæological Institute libraries, and afterwards in Florence, conducted me through the various stages of the Renaissance. The story of Humanism in old Italy became the incentive to a study of new Italy, and then it was found that out of the ashes of the famous Re-birth and Revival of Letters there has risen a new life which may be named the Italian Renaissance of to-day.¹

¹ J. A. Symonds in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 9th ed., vol. 20, p. 380, says:

"If we insist upon the literal meaning of the word, the Renaissance was a re-birth; and it is needful to inquire of what it was the re-birth. The metaphor of Renaissance may signify the entrance of the European nations upon a fresh stage of vital energy in general, implying a fuller consciousness and a freer exercise of faculties than had belonged to the mediæval period. Or it may mean the resuscitation of simply intellectual activities, stimulated by the revival of antique learning and its application to the arts and literatures of modern peoples. Upon our choice between the two interpretations of the word depend important differences in any treatment of the subject. The former has the disadvantage of making it difficult to separate the Renaissance from other historical phases—the Reformation, for example—with which it ought not to be confounded. The latter has the merit of assigning a specific name to a limited series of events and group of facts, which can be distinguished for the purpose of analysis from other events and facts with which they are intimately but not indissolubly connected. In other words, the one definition of Renaissance makes it denote the whole change which came

As we wandered about in Florence, "the city of flowers and flower of cities," we saw in gallery, library, square, street, church, and house, remains of the old Renaissance. Dante, of whom we were reminded at almost every step, was its first promoter. "As Homer was the creator of Grecian literature, so Dante, by his immortal comedy, gave the first impulse to Italian thought." Dr. Schaff, in a recent volume,¹ the fruit of his late sojourn in Italy, has told us how the great Florentine in his *Divina Commedia*, "the marvellous, mystic, unfathomable song," conceived in 1300, mirrored the moral universe as viewed from the standpoint of eternity. In it he glorified the Christian religion and condemned the corruptions of the papacy. He whose "love was transcendent as his scorn," told the story of the pilgrimage of the soul from temptation, through despair, to bliss, under the guidance of Virgil, who represented reason, and Beatrice, who represented revelation.

It was Dante who destroyed the monopoly of the Latin tongue as the organ of scholarship by showing that the language of Tuscany could express the highest thoughts and the deepest emotions. It was he, also, who, though a good Catholic, saw the necessity of a thorough reformation in the Church, and spoke against the pride and injustice in it. He wrote:²

"The Church of Rome
Mixing two governments that ill report,
Hath missed her footing, fallen into the mire
And there herself a burden much defiled."

The cure of the evils and corruptions, he said, were "through Moses, the rapt prophets, the psalms, and the Gospel written by those gifted of the Holy Ghost."

over Europe at the close of the Middle Ages. The other confines it to what was known by our ancestors as the Revival of Learning. Yet when we concentrate attention on the recovery of antique culture, we become aware that this was only one phenomenon or symptom of a far wider and more comprehensive alteration in the conditions of the European races. We find it needful to retain both terms, Renaissance and Revival of Learning, and to show the relations between the series of events, and facts which they severally imply."

¹ *The Renaissance*, p. 13.

² *Purgatorio*, Canto xvi., 127-9.

Petrarch, the poet of love, though in intellectual power inferior to Dante, was also a promoter of the Italian Renaissance since, not only by reason of his own literary contributions, but also by his intense enthusiasm in collecting classical works and recovering old manuscripts, he gave a stimulus to intellectual and æsthetic culture.

Petrarch's friend, Boccaccio, aided the literary revival by his works, *The Decamerone*, his *Life of Dante*, and his comments on the productions of the great master.

Florence was rich also in princes such as Cosimo de' Medici, called the father of his country, and Lorenzo, the magnificent, both hearty promoters of literature and art.

Hallam, referring to Lorenzo says: "In a villa overhanging the towers of Florence, on the steep slope of that lofty hill crowned by the mother city the ancient Fiesole, in gardens which Tully might have envied, with Ticino Laudino and Politian at his side, he delighted his hours of leisure with the beautiful visions of Platonic philosophy, for which the summer stillness of an Italian sky appears the most congenial accompaniment." The beautiful villa of Correggio, near Fiesole, was the meeting-place of students of the Greek language. The Renaissance with its widening, outcircling influence reached Rome, and from that centre spread through Italy, over the continent of Europe, and crossed to England and Scotland.

Pope Nicolas V. at Rome, the Medici at Florence, and others spurred by their example, roused enthusiasm for the classics, and, with the aid of the new art of printing, made ancient Greece and Rome live anew.

The revival of humanistic culture at the close of the fifteenth and beginning of the sixteenth century was followed by a revival of classical art which reached a white heat when some of the masterpieces of Greek sculpture now gracing the Vatican Museum were dug from ruins in Rome.

Soon after appeared such men as Brunelleschi, Ghiberti, Della Robbia, Cimabue, Giotto, Fra Angelico, Fra Bartolommeo, Ghirlandajo, Leonardo da Vinci, Perugino, Michael

Angelo, Raphael, and many others distinguished in the history of painting, sculpture, and architecture.

The revival of letters and art worked a real good for the world in creating high scholarly and artistic taste, in producing a literature, Italy's great heritage, and in building churches and palaces and filling them with treasures which attract countless visitors, who add to the country's material wealth. Even on the lowest ground of utility, the fine arts of yesterday aid the nation of to-day. The Renaissance manifested itself in political life and also in social circles where it was promoted, specially by the humanists, lovers of general culture. These insisted upon a comprehensive, versatile education, united with refined personal sentiments, and thus influenced the intellectual and artistic taste of their contemporaries.

The Renaissance taught men to love and enjoy nature; gave prominence to the cheerful side of life; stimulated scientific study, and also an interest in anatomy, geometry, perspective, color, and drapery—ever demanded of the artist, who must be faithful in rendering life. It found a direct religious expression in many places such as Milan, Venice, Ferrara, Bologna, Modena, Sienna, Lucca, and so far south as Naples. Its religious side failed to have due emphasis in Italy, since many of the Church officials feared and resisted a movement which approved the methods of the primitive Christians and opposed lords in God's heritage.¹ It did, however, make man real to man, taught that contact with and not exclusion from the world was God's method in aiding humanity, that religion and life should be united and not separated, that piety was not to be the charge of any class, but was the inheritance and joy of all God's children, and that learning was for the laity as for the clergy. An impetus was also given to liberty and unity, now the watchword of new Italy.

¹ "Humanism was a necessary preparatory school for the Reformation. Luther and Melancthon, Zwingli and Æcolampadius, Calvin and Beza could never have done their work without a good knowledge of the languages of the Bible, which they obtained from the humanists."—*Renaissance*, by Schaff, p. 118.

Savonarola the monk, Giordano Bruno the philosopher, Arnolfo of Brescia, and Paolo Sarpi, victims of party rage, prepared the way for the realization of the Italians' hopes and longings for a free and united state.

The statues of these martyrs of civil and religious liberty placed on the square of Ferrara and in the grand hall of Florence's City Palace, on the Campo di Fiori in Rome, in Brescia and Venice, are Italy's tribute to these heroic men, and expressions of a state tasting the delights of liberty and showing a flaming zeal for progress in education and reform in religion. New Italy has seen plainly that the repudiation of the Renaissance and the resistance to the Reformation made old Italy retire from its position as the most civilized country in Europe and become a collection of petty states torn and rent by internal strifes.

I.

Italy is now a united country. This is the result of a revival of patriotism. That land is enjoying a renaissance more wonderful in its workings than the one in the days of the Humanists. The process of the development and enrichment of the state has been going on steadily, since, under Victor Emmanuel, the nation was called back to life. The glorious deeds of the fathers became incentives to the sons. The determination is everywhere expressed by those who know history, that no arrest of the present national renaissance must be permitted, and that Italy should be granted the opportunity of again taking a foremost position among the nations of the earth.

Under Humbert the country has made rapid movements towards high national rank. The king¹ is popular, since he is a manly man and no royal puppet. He has endeared himself to all right-minded, and true-hearted, because he has proved himself to be the friend of his people, an earnest defender of their liberties, and a valiant reformer bent on correcting wrongs where rights have been invaded.

¹ The king bade one, to whom he had granted a request, to rise, adding :
" Kneel to no man ; kneel only to God."

Louis Kossuth¹ in 1890 told me that Italy, after the overthrow of Austria, at once entered upon its life of freedom and prosperity. As a guest and friend of the new nation he watched her as she passed through the initial steps and in these comparatively few years of her new form she has made such progress that the civilized world has been compelled to look upon her with astonishment and admiration. "Would that my beloved Hungary," added Kossuth, "might also break Austria's fetters and become a free state!"

As a proof that the civil and religious rights of the Italians, as against tyranny and aggression, are protected, reference should be made to the legislation of August, 1888, when the Chambers almost unanimously adopted clauses in the new Penal Code, which threaten with "fine, imprisonment, and dismissal from office any minister of religion who, in the exercise of his priestly functions, speaks against the unity of Italy, or excites to the non-recognition of the laws and institutions of the state, or who disturbs the peace of families."

Under these clauses, wills in favor of the Roman Catholic Church, made at priestly dictation, or under priestly influence, have been set aside, and those who have been persecuted by Church officials for doing what the state demands, but what the Church forbids, have received speedy redress.

All over the peninsula, and in Sicily, in five different visits, I found the greatest enthusiasm, except among the extreme clericals and their sympathizers, for maintaining the dignity of the nation. Though the burdens of taxation, necessary for even the normal growth of the

¹ When at Turin in 1890, Kossuth, through a former adjutant who was then visiting him, and whom I knew, invited me to his house, No. 22 Via dei Millo. The vigorous old man, then eighty-eight years old, received me warmly, since, as he said, "I love America and Americans." He told me of his life and struggle in Hungary, of his experiences in different lands, of the invitation extended to him by Victor Emmanuel to make Turin his residence, and how he had remained in Turin when the capital had been removed to Florence and Rome, because, at his time of life, it was difficult to get wonted to new associations elsewhere.

country, rest greatly upon the agriculturists, many living in the former Papal States said: "The taxes of to-day are nothing in comparison with those under the Pope's government, and, besides, the valuation to-day is more just, and the privileges granted now compensate for the outlay."

The vast expense in sustaining the navy found little regret from intelligent men, since it was felt that, though a limit should be set to the outlay, it was necessary for a country almost surrounded by water to maintain ships for proper self-defence, and to enable it, also, to assert itself as a nation with its new rank. Italy has not been blind to the necessity for measures, some very radical, towards internal development, in order to maintain, strengthen, and enlarge its national position. Count Crispi¹ tells us that the "unfavorable state of affairs in Italy is more a matter of right and wrong handling than it is of economic weakness. The financial disorder is temporary and is due rather to the methods hitherto used in the management of taxation than to the exigencies of the state. The Triple Alliance is not the cause of our armament, which, indeed, hardly suffices for the defence of the nation. The establishment of the unity of Italy was greeted in the New World with sympathy. That unity was effected at the very time when the American Union was aflame with the war of the Rebellion, which terminated so triumphantly and from which the United States came forth stronger than ever. The reappearance in the Old World of a nation that had been disunited for fourteen centuries was naturally an object of sentimental regard, and not of jealousy, especially for America, which owed its discovery to two Italians. Italy is continually progressing, both morally and economically. Its wealth is on the increase. They deceive or wish to deceive themselves who say that wealth is exhausted."

In the session of 1889-90 the Parliament² at Rome passed

¹ *North American Review* for July, 1892.

² On November 23, 1892, King Humbert, in opening the Italian Parliament, made the following reference to the "economic and intellectual renaissance" of Italy: "Equilibrium will be attained without increasing taxation. Bills

what is known as the Opere Piè bill, which deals with public charities long administered so shamefully. The law went into operation January, 1891. It was my privilege to attend some of the debates upon the bill. It was proved that great abuses had been connected with the management of the different funds left for certain purposes. Some of them had been diverted and used against the government. In order to remove the abuses the state resolved to execute the trusts through commissioners. It was made illegal for any priest to hold a seat as a commissioner. The clericals were furious. Madness did not avail. Justice was demanded and obtained. It was a radical measure, as the suppression of the convents and monasteries may likewise be named, but it was necessary, according to the government, as a means for securing the safety of the nation in view of the fierce assaults upon it by a disloyal Church.

Nearly all the church buildings in Italy belong to the government.¹ Some, as the celebrated Certosa, near Pavia, have been turned into national museums. Others, as the convent in Amalfi, have been sold; and many have been lent to the people for religious services. The people have the right to say what the service shall be, since the law supports the majority in the choice of a pastor. In

will be introduced giving elasticity to the revenue and promoting reforms in taxation. Measures will also be introduced to bring about reforms in the army, and to insure that our military strength will not be weakened by the proposed reduction in the army expenditures. Other bills will be presented, dealing with the national schools, the judicial system, the maritime postal service, and providing for the completion of the railway and canal systems."

In concluding his speech King Humbert said: "Victor Emmanuel cherished the noble ambition of restoring Italy to the Italians. He attained the fulfilment of his wish in our Rome. For myself I am attracted by an ambition to connect my name with the economic and intellectual renaissance of our country, and to see our dear Italy strong, prosperous, and great, such as those who suffered and died for her in the past pictured her future to themselves. I derive comfort from the affections and wisdom of my people and Parliament. Let us ever preserve a strong faith in ourselves, activity, concord in our desire for well-doing, and feel and act so that our work, far-seeing at present, be crowned with the blessing of the future."

¹ Some churches and monasteries have been built of late years under existing laws regulating them, and are not under the direct control of the government. These constitute the exceptions.

August, 1890, the inhabitants of Mount Orfano, on Lake Maggiore, dismissed their priest and called as pastor a Protestant. The Church of Rome tried to win back the people, and, failing, sought to gain control of the property, but the rights of the people were maintained by law and priests were interdicted from conducting services in the church. What took place at Mount Orfano, many Italians are free to say, will take place in other communities when the people understand their rights and privileges.

It is not strange that during the period of the nation's renaissance Italy's statesmen have made mistakes—some of them very injurious in their effects. It is stranger still, in view of their inexperience, that so few blunders have been made.

In consideration of the temperament of the people—the misgovernment of the petty states in the not far off past, and the pressing needs of the times, it is remarkable that, in the main, wise, prudent, and conservative measures have been adopted and employed.

Sometimes the feeling is expressed that the south is more or less dominated by the north, though it is confessed that the south and Sicily have had their share of patronage.

The demand is made, everywhere, that the present unity be not only maintained but strengthened. The young men are taking a deep interest in local as well as national politics. The best men are willing to take office, not for selfish but for patriotic reasons. The members of Parliament are, in the main, men of fine personal appearance, dignified bearing, and intelligence. There is now, over the land, a feeling of security which did not exist a few years ago. The element of certainty, in spite of the state of the finances, has entered into economics. Italy as a nation is assured, and Rome will continue to be the capital.¹

¹ God makes the wrath of men to praise Him. It was the fearful war of 1870 between France and Germany, which compelled Napoleon III. to call his troops from Rome and permitted Italian soldiers to enter the Eternal City and enable the government to make it the capital of the united country.

Victor Emmanuel entered Rome Sept. 20, 1870, shortly after the battle of Sedan.

He died in 1878. Humbert, his son, ascended the throne.

Measures are in progress to improve agriculture, the basis of Italy's growth and success. Men in position to know, large farmers, remarked frequently to me that if the small owners of land were only willing to employ wise methods and machinery in the cultivation of their farms, the results would be fourfold more than now. Information is sent out by the government to the peasants, in order to induce them to employ means for greater crops. The strongest and wisest efforts are thus making continually to develop the really grand resources of that historic land, and have it again one of the beautiful gardens of the earth.

Italy, then, as a state, in many ways, has shown new life, worthy to be named the political renaissance of to-day. She has reached the prophetic aspiration, written more than fifty years ago by Alessandro Manzoni :

" Non fia loco ove sorgan barriere,
Tra l'Italia e l'Italia mai pici ! "

" No more shall place be found where barriers rise to sever
Italian from Italian soil henceforth for ever."

II.

The improved political condition of Italy would naturally lead to a renaissance as regards education. It is true that in high places the Romish Church has been the advancer of learning. When Erasmus, learned as he was, visited Rome in 1506, he was astonished and pleased by the conversation of her scholars, though shocked by, what he termed, "her abominable blasphemies."

The policy of the Church of Rome has been to educate the few and keep the many in ignorance. It was the neglect to care for the intellectual needs of the people that drove from her embrace eminent scholars and orators, as Bernardino Occhino and Peter Martyr, and cultivated women, as Vittoria Colonna, the Duchess Renata of Ferrara, and the Duchess Gonzaga, and to turn to the reformation which promoted learning, gave the people faithful versions of the Scriptures in their idiom, furnished a new

impulse to hymnology, and imparted new life to philosophy and science.

Art in Italy has had a mighty past. The Italians of to-day are, seemingly, too content to contemplate that past as sufficient honor to the land, and are too little stimulated by it to great efforts to-day. It may be they, like ourselves, are too intent upon material advance to make new creations in art, and are in the "copying stage," in spite of former original productiveness.

The conditions, it is true, under which artists in Italy now work are different from those of the time when kings and queens, rich convents, and orders were the promoters of art. Still it is surprising that in a country where artistic taste seems instinctive there is at present little original work which bears the marks of genius, or even great talent. Drawing and modelling are not taught in Italy as in France. Mind has little expression in most of the specimens of art displayed in shop and window to attract travellers with rich pockets and cheap taste.

The time is past when artist students go to Italy to study art. France and Germany attract them in large numbers. The Americans who in late years attempted in Italy to produce works of art, with few exceptions, failed, and those who gained some reputation showed little originality. It is said to-day in Rome of an American artist there: "If he had not been known as a writer, he would never be heard of as a sculptor." The remark was frequently made in well informed circles: "Italy to-day has few names whose artistic fame will be enduring." She is no longer the master of the voice. Berlin and Paris are now the centres of music. While then in truth the fine arts of Italy of to-day have no splendid flowerage, there is, however, a grand movement towards the education of the people at large. The Italian government, with great insight, resolved to make a thorough change in the intellectual training of the masses in order to bring them to a higher level and hasten the day when the country shall take a literary as well as political rank among the advanced nations

of the world. Professor Villari, of Florence, the accomplished Minister of Education, and well known in literary and religious circles as the author of the best lives of Savonarola and Macchiavelli, has had much to do with the present trend of education. Italy has a great task, but nobly has she begun and continued her educational work. A great revolution has already taken place as regards the training of the youth in spite of greatest difficulties, and also many obstacles put in the state's way by officials of the Roman Catholic Church.

A national system has been adopted, and government schools have been opened everywhere. Years ago what little education the children had was controlled by the Church. The teachers then were either priests or candidates for the priesthood. Now the instructors, with few exceptions, are laymen, who have chosen teaching as a profession, and have passed the examination ordered and controlled by the government. Formerly,¹ during the days of the Church's supremacy, the majority could not read or

¹ Some idea of the then prevailing ignorance is shown in the report published in December, 1870, of the examinations made in Rome for admission of pupils to educational institutions opened by the royal government which had taken possession of the city the autumn previous. Signor Brioschi, in making the report, said: "We have examined, not infrequently, youths of 15, 16, and even 18 years of age who could not tell the different parts of speech, and did not know the conjugation of the verbs. Some excused themselves by saying that the Italian language had not been taught in the schools; others that it ought to be learned after Latin. So it was useless to examine them as to syntax, etymology, orthography, etc. . . . When asked about well known facts of Italian history there were, with but rare exceptions, none who would state anything. One said Brutus was a despot; another that Dante was a French poet, Petrarch an illustrious poetess. Of Columbus I was told by one that he was an apostle and by another that he was the Holy Spirit." He also added that on the part of the almost young men who had been pupils for years in the Papal schools there "was great inability to write from dictation the simplest numbers, such as 70,298."

The state of education was worse in the Neapolitan and Sicilian provinces when, in 1860, they became part of the Italian monarchy.

It shows a notable advance in education among the people when, as far back as 1881, 778,619 took books from the public libraries. It is estimated by some, though the exact figures are not at hand, that at present the number attending the libraries is several times greater than in 1881.

write; now, on account of the compulsory clause in the educational bill, few Italian children it is maintained cannot read and write.¹ Such a statement should be received with caution, since some Italians, as some Americans, speak so rapidly that the truth fails to overtake them. Formerly, according to old residents of Italy, it was an unusual thing to see workmen or coachmen reading papers; now it is so common an occurrence that it fails to astonish.

The text-books used in the former Church schools were written so as to uphold the strongest claims of Rome and teach the greatest errors and absurdities. Histories written in the interest of truth and fairness could not be found in any library, much less in the schools; now all text-books are issued by the government, and even the volumes given by the priests as prizes in the Communal schools must first be sent to the educational department of the province in order to receive its sanction.

Church schools still exist, but the government insists that all teachers in them hold its certificates and the schools be open to inspection. Masters in the Church schools, it is said, still speak, though with caution, of the Pope as king of Italy, but the law is strictly enforced which requires the portrait of King Humbert to be hung in every school-room, there silently to teach the children the fact of a united Italy.

The education directly controlled by the state is virtually secular. No religion as doctrine or ritual is taught, but lessons in sacred history are given the first half hour of each school day. The book used was prepared by the Church, but was approved by the government, and so does not contain any disloyal sentiments. Besides, attendance on these lessons is not compulsory. Those who attend are examined on the subject every six months, and though the parish priest is courteously permitted to preside at the examina-

¹ Education at the formation of the present kingdom has been described as a desert broken every now and then by an oasis of matchless fertility and luxuriance. The learning of the learned was high, and the ignorance of the ignorant profound.

tion, it is conducted by a government inspector and the priest has really no voice in the matter. Education is virtually free¹ up to the university. We do not intend to speak of Italian universities² as their general features are the same as in other European institutions of the same rank, and as these are not the direct product of the educational renaissance of to-day.

A boy entering an elementary school at six can enter, usually, the university at nineteen.

The expenses of the state schools are defrayed from five sources:

(1) Directly from the central treasury. (2) From the rates of the provinces in which the schools are situated. (3) From the rates of the Commune. (4) From certain small fees; and (5) from gifts, which are quite frequent and comparatively large.

The salaries of the teachers begin at about \$100 and run up to \$500, though in a few special cases they reach \$700.

A peculiar feature attached to the public schools is the savings bank. Teachers act as treasurers and their accounts are strictly controlled by the government. A child can deposit a sum as small as two centimes, less than half a cent, and thus a motive is presented to the pupils to practise economy in a country where heretofore the people had little foresight, and consequently suffered much through poverty.

In Italy, where women and girls do much outside work, infant schools hold an important place. These are usually conducted according to the kindergarten system, and are mostly taught by women, who receive the lowest salaries. The elementary schools are divided into what are termed inferior and superior. There are three classes in the former and two in the latter. The studies are those commonly taught in such schools.

¹ In some of the high schools a slight entrance fee is demanded, or an examination fee is asked, or a small annual sum is required to be paid.

² There are about seventeen national universities in Italy.

See Hippeau, *L'Instruction publique en Italie*, Paris, 1875, and Pécant, *Deux Mois de Mission en Italie*, Paris, 1880.

As compulsory attendance covers only two years there is, according to statistics, a sudden falling off in the number of pupils in the third year, which shows that in new Italy, as in America, many parents are not alive to the necessity of employing means for the intellectual culture of their children. No fees for tuition are charged in these schools and those unable to pay for text-books, paper, and the like are supplied gratuitously. The children belonging to them do not go home at noon, but take their lunch to school, while food is given to the very poor.

The course in the gymnasium covers five years, and in addition to certain elementary subjects includes mathematics, classics, and some modern languages. In the Lyceum the classics and mathematics, metaphysics and moral philosophy are taught.

There are few technical schools in proportion to the population. The government is making now an earnest effort to increase their number. The subjects taught in them are mathematics, design, mechanics, and modern languages. Of the latter, English is preferred, though, since the Triple Alliance, German has become popular, while very difficult for the Latin brain and tongue.

In winter the evening schools are largely attended, as also are those held on Sundays and holidays, which are only for women.

The different denominations—the Waldensian and Free Church of Italy, the Scotch, American, Methodist, and Baptist Churches—have schools under their patronage. The best academy for girls out of good families is in Naples, and is under the care of the Scotch Church. Howells, in his *Italian Journeys*, spoke of this and other schools in Naples founded by the Rev. Mr. Buscarlet, and now under the superintendence of the Rev. Mr. Irving. "No man," writes Howells, "can study their operations without feeling that success must attend their efforts with honor to them and with inestimable benefits to the generation which shall one day help to govern Italy."

The stately building lately erected for the Girls' Institute

in the Via Amadeo has the finest appointments. The principal, a refined, cultured German woman, has good assistants. The school has passed beyond the period of doubt regarding its success since even the best Catholic families of Naples and Italy speak with as much pride of their children being there as mothers here speak of their daughters being in Holyoke and Smith, Wellesley and Vassar.

From repeated conversations with educators in different parts of Italy it was learned that a great impetus has been given to the education of the people and there has been rapid progress towards a broad and high intellectual culture. Superstition—the handmaid of ignorance—is lessening its grip gradually. On every hand are signs of literary activity. The quality of newspapers and books is improving since the demand for them is increasing. The schoolmaster is abroad. Italy to-day is enjoying an educational renaissance.

III.

The new Italy has not limited the Renaissance to the state and school, to country and education, but in her freedom and enlargement has made no resistance to its workings in the realm of religion.

What Macchiavelli in his day asserted could, according to some, be said with truth at the formation of new Italy.

“Owing to the evil example of the Papal Court, Italy has lost all piety and all religion, whence follow infinite troubles and disorders; for, as religion implies all good, so its absence implies the contrary.”¹

Religion among patriots, in the early stages of the union, took the form of hate against the Papacy, which ever showed, they said, an intense hostility to Italian unity and independence. By degrees the hate against an unpatriotic system was in many hearts changed into a love for truth, purity, and God. The revival of evangelical religion did not take place without hearty and able

¹ *Discorsi*, Lib. i., cap. 12.

efforts of lovers of Italy, both natives and foreigners. It was difficult to escape the influence of the Roman Catholic Church, which had complete sway from time immemorial, and had not only arrested the old Renaissance, but had put down summarily any movement looking towards the spiritual worship of God. It was not strange that legislation in the new state was more or less dominated by the old ideas and the old restrictive ecclesiastical measures. Hence the *statuto fondamentale*, of March, 1848, which recognized Roman Catholicism as the sole religion of the state (*la sola religione del stato*), became in 1870 the law of Italy. Since its enactment a great change of opinion has taken place, insufficient, however, it may be to remove the law from the statutes, but powerful enough to permit the greatest liberty, both to Protestant and Roman Catholic, to worship God in the way desired. The Rev. Alexander Robertson, of Venice, says¹:

"Notwithstanding the fact that Rome is the centre and shrine of the Papacy, and that Roman Catholicism is the established and endowed Church of the land, no country in Europe is, in my opinion, less papal than Italy. The fact that it exists as a kingdom strong and united, with a constitution as free as that of England, and that it is taking its place as a first-class power among the nations of Europe—in spite of Pope Pio Nono's '*non possumus*' and of Vatican intrigues and anathemas continued from his day till now—is a proof of this. The fact that in its Chamber of Deputies, elected by the free suffrages of the people, no papal party exists, is another evidence of it. It is confirmed further by these facts—that there are now no theological chairs in its universities, no chaplaincies in its army and navy, and no exemptions from military service granted to those who are training for the priesthood in the papal seminaries. . . . It is already many years since the Government removed most of the difficulties and annoyances that attended marriage between persons of different creeds, by making it a civil rite, only legal when performed by a syndic or his deputy, in the municipal offices."

¹ *Count Campello and Catholic Reform in Italy*, pp. 188, 191, by Alexander Robertson, 1891.

This change of sentiment, within a few years, is all the more remarkable when within the remembrance of many living there was not a single Protestant church inside the walls of Rome. Tholuck, when Chaplain of the Prussian Legation at Rome, complained of the obstacles thrown in the way of holding Protestant services at the Embassy. It is remembered that our Minister to Italy, the Hon. George P. Marsh, had his copy of the Bible taken from him by the custom-house officers of the Papal States.

It is not forgotten that, about forty years ago, Count Guicciardini and his friends were banished from Florence for reading the Bible, and the Madiai¹ family shortly after was condemned to the galleys for several years for reading God's word and holding meetings for prayer. Paolo Geymonat,² the distinguished professor in the Waldensian College in Florence, told in thrilling language to a large assembly in his city the story of his imprisonment, forty years ago for the Gospel's sake. All is now changed.³ The

¹ It seemed historically fitting that the Hon. and Rev. V. Bligh should preside at the first formal meeting of the Evangelical Alliance in 1891 at Florence, since he was attaché of the British Legation at Florence forty years ago, and conducted personally all the correspondence in reference to the release of an Englishman who was found in the house of the Madiai with a Bible in his pocket.

² It was also fitting that Dr. Geymonat should preside at the reception given to the delegates to the Alliance on Saturday evening, April 4, 1891.

³ Dr. Prochet, in an address which I heard, presented, as he said, "two tableaux," illustrative of the change which has taken place in the attitude of the people at large towards evangelists.

"In 1862 the little town of Rio Marina presented, one summer evening, a striking sight. Hundreds of men and women were rushing towards a certain house, shouting, yelling. They brought wood and piled it round the dwelling with the intention of burning it and its inmates. What was the matter? Who was there? A murderer escaped from the prison of Porto Ferrajo? No; in that house were sheltered two theological students of the Waldensian Church, who, during their holidays, preached the Gospel. The mob, urged by the priests, wanted to burn them alive, and would have done so had they not been prevented by some men of courage and influence, whose energetic interference saved the lives of the evangelists and the Church of Rome from another bloody stain. Go now to Rio Marina, and you will find in the Waldensian schools 180 pupils, 160 of whom are the children or grandchildren of the same people who wanted to burn the first evangelists visiting the island."

fullest liberty is granted all denominations to enter Italy. Italians in large numbers, though nominal members of the State Church, have welcomed Protestant Christians from foreign countries, and asked their assistance in lifting the country morally and religiously.

"As regards Rome itself," says Dr. Gray,¹ "the results since 1870 may thus be presented. In addition to the four churches for English-speaking residents and visitors—the two English Episcopal, the American Episcopal, and the Presbyterian—there are seven churches where the Gospel is preached in Italian twice every Sunday and regularly on week days. These are the Waldensian, the Free Italian, the Wesleyan, Methodist, the American Methodist, and the three Baptist churches. Besides these, there are various preaching stations in different parts of the city, not excepting the district in the vicinity of St. Peter's."²

Austria, as regards religious liberty, is far behind her neighbor, Italy. This is shown by her laws against the holding of services by denominations not expressly sanctioned by the government.

One Sunday in Vienna, Mr. Gordon, the pastor of the Scotch Church, announced to us that Lord Radstock would conduct an evangelistic service in the evening. The police made objections, but finally it was settled that Lord Radstock could speak under certain conditions. He must not read the Bible, offer prayer, or announce a hymn. It was a solemn moment when, after a spiritual address, the announcement was made that, since the Austrian government at that meeting permitted no audible prayer, the people in the few moments of silence to follow could bow their heads, and the Lord would understand them. It seemed pitiable that such limits should be placed to a religious service in a place where the then American Minister

¹ From a statement by the Rev. Dr. J. G. Gray, pastor of the Scotch Church in Rome, who, by his hearty welcome and warm sympathy, has endeared himself to so many Americans visiting the city.

² In addition to the above, there is a military church in Rome, under Signor Cappellini, who has had signal success in his work.

was a regular worshipper. Years ago it was noted how, in Bohemia, American missionaries were watched in order that any infringement of the laws respecting the holding of religious services might be detected and punished. No Protestant service could be held, save in a hall or room in which was a bed and some furniture to indicate that the place was a home. Each attendant received a formal invitation to the meeting from the householder, and the police examined each card in order to see that the law's requirements were met. Though more liberty is obtained now in Austria, because more is demanded and public opinion is more enlightened, still few privileges are granted Protestants. Italy, on the other hand, does not show any resistance to the entrance of foreign religious bodies. Like ancient Macedonia, she stretches out her hands to all lovers of God, and says, "Come over and help us."¹

It is true that some criticism has been made by Protestant Italians of the action of some foreigners, who press denominational questions. It is also said openly by many who have worked in Italy for years that in view of the outwardly united Romish Church it were wiser far to make the two Churches, the Waldensian and Free, more effective by forming them into one. Efforts tending to this union

¹ The Rev. John H. Eager, of Florence, in the *Baptist Missionary Magazine*, vol. lxxi., p. 103, says: "In the early stages of mission work in Florence, much opposition was encountered, and some of the more zealous were permitted to taste the joy of being persecuted and imprisoned for Christ's sake, a few of whom are living. One of them told me the other day that there was a time when he did not feel at all sure of his life while passing through some of the remote quarters of this city. But since then a wonderful change has taken place, and evangelicals are not only safe in Florence, but, as an Italian gentleman said to me, 'respected and kindly received everywhere.'" Instead of saying as formerly, "Va fuori d'Italia, va fuori Stranier," "Get you gone from Italy, you foreigners," is heard: "Come, friends, and help us to win victory for truth and liberty."

There are in Florence, besides the Roman Catholic churches, two Waldensian, one Free Italian, one Methodist, two Baptist churches, and one Plymouth Brethren meeting, where the Italian language is spoken. There is also a Waldensian theological school. There are, in addition to the above, the German Reformed and French Reformed churches, two Anglican churches, one American Episcopal church, and one Scotch church.

have been made, and, though not as yet successful, the strong hope is expressed by the leading men of both Churches that it is not far distant. "The *Chiesa Libera*—the Free Church," says the Rev. J. Wood Brown,¹ "has gone from strength to strength till to-day she stands at no immeasurable distance from the Waldensian Church. May we not hope then that a Church which has made such notable advances will soon enter into visible corporate union with those who, separated from her by no essential article of faith, or discipline, seek the same glorious end which she pursues in the evangelization of Italy. The historical sense, forecasting future events from the past, invites us to expect this as naturally and necessarily as our interest in the Gospel cause engages us to pray for it."

The Rev. John R. McDougall,² the master spirit in preparing the way for the successful meeting of the Evangelical Alliance in Florence, was given lately a testimonial for his long, laborious, and hearty assistance of the Free Church. The Rev. Dr. Gray, of Rome, is just as enthusiastic in his efforts to assist the Waldensian Church, and the Rev. Mr. Robertson, of Venice, has contributed much to the success of Count Campello's work. These three are clergymen of the Scotch Church, and, while they are loyal to their own denomination, work through the home churches for the evangelization of the land and the promotion of spiritual reform which the renaissance of to-day is pressing upon Italy. It is a hopeful sign for the country's future fuller spiritual liberty, when the King expresses his warmest sympathy for all Christians, without regard to denominational lines. Before the meeting of the Evangelical Alliance at Florence, Humbert said to the well-known Waldensian preacher at Rome, Dr. Prochet: "Why does n't the Alliance meet in Rome instead of Florence?" "Because, your Majesty," was the reply, "we did not wish to add to your present difficulties with regard to the Vatican." "Ah,"

¹ *An Italian Campaign*, p. 207.

² It has been justly said: "What Dr. Stewart of Leghorn was to the Waldensian Church, Mr. McDougall has become to the Free Italian Church."

remarked the King, "under similar circumstances the papal powers would n't have shown the same delicacy of action. Still we admire this consideration of our feelings. The war-like spirits, however, may sustain themselves with the thought that Florence is on the way to Rome."

The Ninth International Conference of the Evangelical Alliance held in Florence, April 4-12, 1891, was a marked event in the Italian religious Renaissance of to-day. It was significant that, besides the delegates from different parts of the world, more than one hundred and fifty pastors and evangelists from Italy alone were in attendance. It is certain that a wonderful impetus was given religious liberty and evangelical truth in the peninsula. Night after night at the close of the day's deliberations and discussions, Salvini's Theatre, where the meetings were held, was filled by Florence's citizens, who came to hear Gospel addresses. So great an interest was incited that, weeks after the Conference closed its sessions, the same building was crowded each evening by the people of the same Roman Catholic city where in 1851 Christians were imprisoned in the Bargello for reading the Holy Scriptures.

At the first session of the Conference there was sent to the King a telegram containing salutations, thanks for the civil and religious liberty enjoyed in the land, and a prayer for Heaven's richest blessings to rest upon the beloved Sovereign and the Italian people. When the telegram was received by Humbert, he ordered a high official to prepare a reply for his approval. The King, finding it cold and formal, destroyed it, and the following cordial answer was sent:

"His Majesty, the King, has received, with great satisfaction, the wishes and homage of the representatives of a religion which is professed by a Piedmontese region so dear to his soul and so loyal and true to his House. He thanks especially the foreigners gathered in Florence, for the prayers they lift up to God for Italy, and is hoping that, on returning to their homes, they may take back feelings of sympathy for this country."

Those present when this message was received can never forget the almost wild enthusiasm of the Italians, who rejoiced that the beloved King had expressed his sympathy so warmly and boldly. Cheer upon cheer arose when Dr. Geymonat said:

"Never did Italy in the times of her republics, never did this classic land, never did Florence, the most liberal and the most cultured city of Italy, ever enjoy religious liberty, the highest and holiest form of liberty, until the entire nation rallied round the House of Savoy, which with firm hands holds the sceptre of justice. Hence we cannot inaugurate the present Congress, which to the eyes of all is a great event in the cause of liberty, and to *our* eyes greater still for the Gospel, without heartily exclaiming: Blessings forever rest upon the House of Savoy as it now reigns at Rome."

Italian statesmen see now as never before, by the position and action of evangelical bodies in their country, that religion with them is not divorced from loyalty, but the two are united, a combination astonishing to politicians in view of the inimical attitude of the clerical party of the Church towards the government.

Some spiritual men in Italy, claiming to be simply Catholics, not willing to break entirely with the past, loving many of the Church's forms and doctrines, but resisting also the demands of "Vaticanism," and combating the attacks on liberty in the state and liberty of conscience, horrified at some of the blasphemous views taught and maintained so vigorously by the Curia,—these are looking and praying, hoping for the reformation of a Church which was "the Alma Mater of the Middle Ages, the christianizer and civilizer of the Northern and Western barbarians, the Church of the Fathers, the Schoolmen, and the Mystics, the Church of St. Chrysostom and St. Augustine, of St. Benedict and St. Francis, of St. Bernard and St. Thomas Aquinas, of Tauler and Thomas à Kempis, of Pascal and Fénelon."¹

Some hoped to find Count Campello an Italian Luther. He is personally an interesting man, an earnest, devoted

¹ Schaff in *Christendom from the Standpoint of Italy*, p. 33.

Christian, whose manner shows sincerity, whose life manifests singleness of purpose, and whose sacrifices have attracted many to the Lord Jesus. He refused a cardinal's hat and left a lucrative position in the Pope's household for a life of hardship and persecution. He does not lack courage, moral and physical. He once in his own Valnerina faced a crowd which sought his life. "It is the Pope," said Campello, "who is Protestant, not I. He protests against the truth, against man's right to have free access to his Maker, against education, against constitutional liberty, against the unity and well-being of the country. A free church in a free country is what I am seeking to restore you." Though Campello is doing a good work, it is known that he has few elements in his character fitting him for a great reformer.

Many regarded as freethinkers, disciples of old political leaders, are working now in Italy towards Church reform, since it will lead, they think, to the realization of their idol Mazzini's idea expressed in 1834 in his letter to Italian priests occasioned by the encyclical of Pope Gregory XVI.

"The question," said Mazzini,¹ "is not the breaking up of the Church. The question is its emancipation and its purification from that which is arbitrary² and oligarchal. The

¹ *Work*, vol. iii., pp. 86-88.

² No book once placed in the *Index Expurgatorius* is ever removed, since there is an unwillingness to confess a mistake. Curious contradictions arise from this arbitrary practice. For example, though Galileo's works are placed in the *Index*, the present Pope, Leo XIII., in one of his recent encyclicals, has spoken of the astronomer in terms of unbounded praise. The fact is, as has been declared recently, the Church has always oscillated between two great main parties who in turn have had the upper hand in her councils. The one is the party inclined to yield to the new ideas put forth by science, the other the one that has remained firmly adherent to the rock of mediæval ideas and prejudices. This oscillation between two opposite poles of thought is the great secret of the major and minor severity with which the *Index* is compiled. A work created rather for a human than a divine scope, the *Index* reflects this, its inherent characteristics, and the dominant pre-occupation of the Catholic Church may always be traced in its pages. Thus to-day, when the Church is busier with political than theological interests, it will be found that the most recent works put under ban rather treat of this theme—such as questions concerning the temporal power, the divine right of kings, republican and socialistic pretensions, and so forth. All this is done in spite of the Pope's recent friendliness towards the French Republic and his praise of the United States.

question is the placing of it in harmony with political and civil society, to have it endorse the principles of reform advocated at the Councils of Pisa, of Constance, and of Bâle, by the theologians of Venice, by the French clergy in 1682, by the men of Port Royal, and by Ricci. The question is to establish the supremacy of the Church, now gathered in the Pope, to rehabilitate the parish priests now reduced to the condition of despised and poor servants."

Mazzini's statement is considered by many Italian statesmen a true presentation of the demands made to-day by the lovers of new Italy. As a chronicler of events it is not my province to discuss formally the question whether any great reform can be effected within the Roman Catholic Church.

It has been maintained that just as Italy effected its political emancipation from within, inspired by a deeply felt want of being a great, free, and united people, so must a reformation be brought about by a want deeply felt for a purer, higher, and spiritual Church life.

It is true that the reform sought by many is ecclesiastical rather than spiritual, and so, many spiritually minded people have little to expect from a movement which aims merely at the simplification of ritual, the abolition of enforced celibacy, the limitation of episcopal power, the suppression of gross abuses, and the use of the Italian language in the services. Dr. Gray, of Rome, in answer to the question, Is there no hope of a reform movement from within the Church of Rome itself? very frankly says:

"During recent years there have been symptoms now and then of a protest on the part of individuals within the Church against its principles and policy. Some of these have felt themselves driven out of the Church by the force of circumstances. . . . Only in a few cases has there been a consistent maintenance of the protest made in a position of separation, as is the case of the few priests who are connected with the old Catholic movement. The very existence of that movement, insignificant as it is, is a sufficient answer to those who are looking for reform from within. It has been found impossible by them to maintain

their position in the Church and carry out their reforming principles. So far as appears at present there is little hope from within."¹

There are, however, sincere men who are hoping to find some way whereby they can remain members of a Church they love and yet escape its corruptions, and be freed from fetters which forbid true Christian liberty. Special reference should be made in this connection to a remarkable address made at Florence during the session of the Evangelical Alliance, by Dr. Mariano, on "The State of Religious Thought in Italy." Raffaello Mariano, Professor of Church History in the University of Naples, has been for years the leader of literary and philosophical circles in Southern Italy. He was chosen to speak because he is a distinguished scholar in his department, a member of the Italian Parliament, a writer of books in defence of pure Christianity, and because he is a strong advocate of Church reform. It was told me by several Italian leaders that no man in their country spoke with more authority and power than Mariano, since he was recognized by all impartial people as a learned and pre-eminently fair man.² He consented to speak, he said, for two reasons: because he was not ashamed of the Gospel of Christ, and also because as an impartial observer he might discuss his subject fairly. He did not see his way clear to joining any of the Protestant denominations, still, though a nominal member of the Catholic Church, he had no faith in her present policy, since she was only consistent in maintaining a false position by opposing liberty and education in the state and working moral ruin among the people.

While he criticised Protestantism for being so divided, he recognized its great value in the work of reform, and looked forward with joy to the time when evangelical sentiments would possess his Church and country, and an approximate

¹ From a statement sent to me.

² My friend, the Rev. G. Luzzi, the pastor of the Waldensian Church in Florence, at my special request, made a translation of Prof. Mariano's address. I have made the summary from this.

ideal be reached of what Cavour loved to contemplate, "A free Church in a free state." Italy is not what she might have been if she had not resisted the workings of the religious renaissance. What is needed is that all true Christians of whatever name, in and out of the Roman Catholic Church, unite and combat errors and reform abuses.

Let these use such externals of religion as best express to the people essential truth. Æsthetic people, as the Italians are, demand a service appealing to the eye and ear,¹ though the instruction demanded by the head, and true Christian sentiment demanded by the heart, must necessarily be included.

"The great contest," Mariano said, "is not now between Romanism and Protestantism so much as between Christianity and unbelief. Positivism, naturalism, materialism, united in common league, assail divine truth. This is not the time to despise the help which Catholicism could give; when purified and reformed, it would be able to defend Christian truth and form a moral basis for society. . . . If a great movement, compelled by the religious conscience of the nation, aroused by a return to the true simple Christian principles, were to take place, all from the Pope downwards would be affected. The Pope himself might be led to see that the syllabus, the Vatican decrees, the infallibility, the intolerance, the superstitions of the Romish Church are simply a negation of Christianity, and the clergy would again acquire that religious culture and those graces of the spirit of which they are now wanting."

The address, which contained many interesting facts, was felt to be so strongly Protestant that any reformation of the Church, such as he demanded, would require as thorough work as in Luther's time, and this would demand protests

¹Geymonat in *Christendom from the Standpoint of Italy*, p. 336, says :

"In this country of the arts, which idealizes objects or things of fancy, and is the servant of the imaginary ideal, we must not venture to set forth truth in its naked and bare simplicity; nor must we neglect æsthetic study, and disdain to use the help which can be attained from eloquence, poetry, music, and those fine arts which are more spiritual, more conversant with the religion of the spirit, and consecrated by the Word of God."

which would force those making them out of her pale. Never have I heard such frequent and loud applause as greeted Mariano's speech, which, though read, was delivered with all the fire and force that, seemingly, only an Italian could put into a written address.

Reference, at length, has been made to it, because the author is said to be the representative of large numbers in Italy to-day, who have not thrown off religion whilst throwing off the Papacy, and whilst throwing off the Papacy think they have not thrown off Catholicism.

The Roman Catholic Church, by its outward unity, has a lesson for all evangelicals in Italy, where, it is remarked, the politician, the philosopher, and the sociologist recoil before division, after Italy's successful struggle for unity, and are unwilling to foster "diminutive Vaticans, with their relative primacies, inquisitions, and infallibilities."

The future Church in Italy,¹ which, many say, is now forming, and though mainly indefinite in shape has, to those spiritually endowed, certain defined lines, is not to be Protestant in any ecclesiastical sense. Dr. Schaff, in his eloquent paper read at the Alliance, said :

"We cannot expect or wish Italy to become Protestant, but we do hope and pray that she may become evangelical and Christian in the best sense of the term. She will not and ought not to turn the back on her glorious past, to disown the immortal works of her literature and art, to break with her Catholic traditions, and to import a foreign religion which is not congenial to her genius and taste. She wants a religion that will in some way combine the best elements of the Renaissance and the Reformation with the best features of Catholicism."

Professor Comba, of Florence, though no special friend of a Church that persecuted the Waldensians, is free to say :

¹ The Rev. William Burt, of Rome, in *The Missionary Report of the Methodist Episcopal Church for 1891*, p. 225, writes : "The day is not far distant when this nation, which has had such a prominent part in the history of the Church, shall return to the primitive faith. The problem is how to prepare for and hasten that day."

"We must here in Italy unitedly labor for an ideal, which, if not above the horizon, will at last appear—a Christian ideal, but a new era, which will allow many theological and ecclesiastical strifes to fall, which will unite the elements of Culture and Reform, Catholicism, and Protestantism; will unite faith, thought, and action, liberty and unity, religion and patriotism, and diffuse the spirit of charity over our social miseries."¹

It is seen from this extended, yet inadequate, account of the Italian Renaissance of to-day that political reconstruction has long been in the air, and thus there appeared the fiery eloquence of Mazzini, the courage of Victor Emmanuel, the *finesse*, the superb political wisdom of Cavour, and the sword of Garibaldi. To-day the air is electric with the thoughts of progress, royal valor, and sympathy, and the patriotism of Italy's citizens. The dream that the "gigantic spokes of the wheel, which once the very stream of the ages drove" long torn asunder, may once more be united, has become a reality, as under the impulse of loyalty and true ambition the pathetic fragments are now one and strong and rapid of motion for the weal of the nation and humanity.

Educational reconstruction in Italy has long been in the air, and so the sky in which Horace and Virgil, Pliny and Sallust, Cicero and Cæsar long blazed as brilliant literary stars once more covers the land of beauty and song, and in that sky appear to-day stars whose historic, scientific, and poetic brilliance gives light and warmth, aid and direction to those who are seeking intellectual advancement and broadest culture.

Religious reconstruction is now in the air and there must appear rich results from the breath of God upon the dry bones of every valley.

A main characteristic of Italy to-day, it is said, is the strength of the religious instincts of the people. Many heretofore blinded are now seeing that the kingdom of God is not meat and drink, does not consist in mere rites and

¹ *Christendom from the Standpoint of Italy*, p. 64.

ceremonies, processions and genuflections, but is righteousness, peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost.

The Bible, which years ago was smuggled into the country, is now offered at book stall and newspaper *kiosque*, and is bought by the many hungering and thirsting for the bread and water of life.¹ The Christian Renaissance, though not, as yet, so wide in its influence and workings in certain lines as the classical revival, is yet in the Italy of to-day a mighty fact. The land of poetry and art, of science and beauty, of Virgil and Cicero, of Dante and Boccaccio, of Raphael and Angelo, of Savonarola and Bruno, must enjoy the fruitage of the Italian Renaissance of to-day, and take once more a high rank among the Christian nations of the earth.

God speed the day!

¹The Colporteurs in Italy number about sixty men. In one year, 1888, 7,057 Bibles, 17,551 Testaments, and 112,437 portions of the Bible were sold.

The *Claudian Press*, at Florence, published during the year 138,730 books and tracts, 157,100 portions of the Bible, 112,300 copies of periodicals, and 28,000 copies of the *Church Almanac*.

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| * Caspari, Carl Paul, D.D. (<i>hon.</i> Erlangen, 1860), Professor of Church History, Christiania, Norway. | Mitchell, Rev. Alexander Ferrier, D.D. (St. Andrews, 1862), LL.D. (Glasgow, 1892), Professor of Ecclesiastical History, St. Andrews, Scotland. |
| Comba, Emilio, D.D. (<i>hon.</i> St. Andrew's, Scotland, 1885), Professor of Historical Theology in the Waldensian College, Florence, Italy. | Nippold, Friedrich, D.D. (Leiden, 1870), Professor of Church History, Jena, Germany. |
| Creighton, Rt. Rev. Mandell, LL.D. (<i>hon.</i> Glasgow, 1884; Harvard, 1886), D.C.L. (Durham, 1885), D.D. (Oxford, 1891), Bishop of Peterborough, England. | Schickler, Baron Fernand de, President of the Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme Français, Paris, France. |
| Harnack, Adolph, Ph.D. (Leipzig, 1873), Lic. Theol. (Leipzig, 1874), D.D. (<i>hon.</i> Marburg, 1879), Pro- | Wace, Rev. Henry, D.D. (Oxford, 1883; Edinburgh, 1882), Principal of Kings College, London, Eng. |
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| | 9. |

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| Abbott, Rev. Lyman, Congregationalist, D.D. (N. Y. University, N. Y. City, 1877), Editor of <i>The Christian Union</i> , New York City. | cisco (Presbyterian) Theological Seminary, California. |
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- Lowrey, Rev. Asbury, Methodist, D.D. (Asbury University, Greencastle, Ind., 1864), New York City.
- Ludlow, Rev. James Meeker, D.D. (Williams College, Williamstown, Mass., 1872), Litt.D. (College of N. J., Princeton, N. J., 1888), Pastor of the Presbyterian Church, East Orange, N. J.
- McConnell, Rev. Samuel D., D.D. (University of Pa., Phila. Pa., 1887), Rector of St. Stephen's P. E. Church, Philadelphia, Pa.
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- MacCracken, Rev. Henry Mitchell, Presbyterian, D.D. (Wittenberg College, Springfield, O., 1877), LL.D. (Miami Univ., Oxford, O., 1887), Chancellor of the University of the City of New York.
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- McIlvain, Rev. James William, Pastor of the Presbyterian Church, Annapolis, Md.
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- Smith, Thomas Edward Vermilye, New York City.
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